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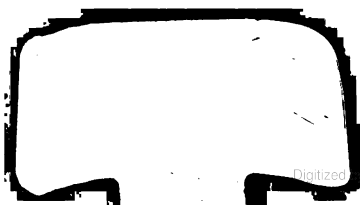
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C B
Smollett

A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
THE THIRD EDITION.
VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

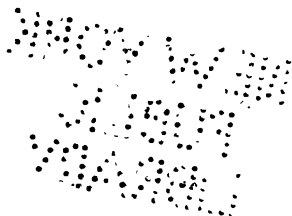
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
BOOK SIXTH.

From the Union of the two Crowns, to the
Restoration of CHARLES II.



JAMES I.

AT the death of Elizabeth, the crown of England peaceably devolved to James VI. of Scotland, as the descendant of Henry VII. who was great grandfather to both his parents; and he succeeded to the English throne in the thirty-sixth of his age. Immediately after the decease of Elizabeth, the council, with the unanimous consent of the lords spiritual and temporal then at London, proclaimed the new king; to whom they dispatched a letter, by Sir Charles Piercy and Sir Thomas Somersct, to notify his accession, and receive his commands. But Robert Cary, son to the lord Hunsdon, was the first person who arrived at Edinburgh with the tidings of Elizabeth's decease. James no sooner understood

A. C. 1603.
James king
of Scotland
proclaimed
king of
England.

A. C. 1603. that he had been proclaimed, without the least opposition, than he began to prepare for his journey to England. In the mean time, he sent Sir Roger Ashton to inform the council and nobility of his intention ; and confirmed the lord-keeper, with all the rest of them, in their offices, during pleasure. Having left a commission with his Scottish council, for the administration of affairs in that kingdom, he, on the fifth day of April, departed from Edinburgh, attended by the duke of Lennox, the earls of Mar, Murray, and Argyle, the lords Hume and Kinlos, Sir George Hume treasurer, and secretary Elphinston. He had received from the English council six thousand pounds to defray the expence of his journey ; and the sheriffs of the counties through which he passed had been ordered to attend him in their respective districts, and supply him plentifully with provisions and other necessaries. The people in general expressed the most tumultuous joy at his entering the kingdom. The towns through which he travelled vied with each other in the magnificence of their entertainments. The roads were crowded with innumerable multitudes, who came to see their new sovereign. They called aloud to heaven to bless him with a long and prosperous reign : the air rung with repeated acclamations ; and he was feasted and flattered in such a manner, that one of his attendants could not help saying, the English would spoil a good king. James was not at all pleased with the concourse of people that continually surrounded him. Though meanly familiar with his particular friends and courtiers, he was extremely averse to crowds and ceremony. Perhaps he was ashamed of his ungracious figure, and awkward address ; and, in all probability, he did not think himself safe in the midst of so many strangers. Whatever were his motives, he certainly issued a proclamation,

tion, forbidding all strangers to approach his person. At York he received the respects and homage of almost all the nobility in the kingdom; and there he favoured secretary Cecil with a most gracious reception, contrary to the expectation of every body in the kingdom: for that minister had been the inveterate enemy of Essex, whom James considered as a martyr to his interest; and he was moreover son of that Burleigh who had brought the king's mother to the block. He had, notwithstanding these disadvantages, found means to insinuate himself into the favour of James, with whom he had carried on a correspondence during the latter part of the queen's reign. In all appearance he accommodated himself to the king's notions of government, and rendered himself necessary to his occasions, by his wealth, experience, and sagacity. This prince had conceived a most romantic notion of the kingly prerogative; and, in order to communicate this idea to his people sometimes, he commanded a thief to be hanged at Newark, without any form of trial.

Wilson;

Stowe,

When he arrived at Theobalds, a house belonging to Cecil, he was visited by the council in a body, and augmented the number of the members, with some of his Scottish attendants; namely, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, and Sir James Elphinston. He likewise added the lord Zouch and baron Burleigh, brother to secretary Cecil. He afterwards admitted the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with Thomas and Henry Howard, son and brother of the late duke of Norfolk. The first of these was, in the sequel, created earl of Suffolk and lord treasurer; and the other was promoted to the earldom of Northampton. The king's gratitude to this family, which had been ruined for its adherence to his mother's cause, was not limited to these

His character disagreeable to the English.

A. C. 1603. benefits. He restored to his title Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Arundel who had been condemned in the reign of Elizabeth. By these steps, he signified his disapprobation of her conduct; and payed so little regard to her memory, that he would not suffer any person to appear at his court in mourning. Notwithstanding the good-will which the English people had manifested towards their new king, they soon began to draw odious comparisons between him and his predecessor. They were shocked at his reserve; they ridiculed his person, and they despised his conduct. He had already discovered marks of idle prodigality; and dealt out his honours with such a lavish hand, that, before he reached London, he had conferred the order of knighthood upon two hundred persons. In a few days after his arrival in the capital, he doubled that number. Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurst, and lord-treasurer, was created earl of Dorset: the barony of Essendon was bestowed upon Sir Robert Cecil the secretary, afterwards viscount Cranburn, and finally earl of Salisbury; and Philip Herbert, brother to the earl of Pembroke, was promoted to the earldom of Montgomery. While the king was on the road from Scotland, he had given orders for releasing the earl of Southampton, who, with the son of Essex, was restored to his honours and estate: but the lords Grey, Cobham, Carew, and Sir Walter Raleigh, met with a very cold reception from his majesty. They had been concerned in the death of Essex, and were now deserted by Cecil, though he had acted as their confederate in that tragedy. The king's resentment demanded a sacrifice; and the secretary was not sorry at the disgrace of Raleigh, whose talents had excited his jealousy. This cunning politician soon gained an ascendancy over the spirit of James, who, with very little experience and judgment,

ment, had gleaned some knowledge from books, A. C. 1603.
 which rendered him extremely self-conceited, and
 laid him open to the arts of adulation.

While the courtiers plied him on this weak side, with the most extravagant encomiums upon his wisdom, learning, and capacity, extolling him as the Solomon of the age, and flattering him with the epithet of his most sacred majesty; the nation in general despised him for his timidity, his ridiculous attachment to worthless favourites, certain low prejudices he had imbibed from nature and education; and they saw, with resentment, his partiality in favour of his own countrymen. These not only engrossed his bounty, but also became so insolent, that daily quarrels arose; assassinations were committed; and the people did not scruple to exclaim that there was a necessity for Scotch vespers, alluding to the massacre of the Provençals in Sicily. James understood the general maxims of government in theory; but he wanted resolution to put them in practice. He looked upon hereditary right as indefeasible, and the regal power as absolute and without controul. He was encouraged in these sentiments by Cecil the secretary, the earl of Suffolk lord-chamberlain, and Northampton keeper of the privy-seal, to whom he left the chief management of his affairs. Though the English people detested these maxims, they were still more disgusted by the disagreeable peculiarities of his disposition. He neglected all business, to indulge his passion for hunting: when the country people assembled in crouds, while he was engaged in that diversion, he used to curse them bitterly, and protest he would leave the kingdom, rather than be subject to such intrusion. Such was his aversion to company, that he issued an order, forbidding all persons to enter the drawing-room but the lords and gentlemen in waiting; a prohibition which all

Reaumont.
 Ryn. ar.

A. C. 1603. the people of fashion resented as an affront. It must be owned, however, for the credit of his administration, that he suspended, by proclamation, all the monopolies which had been granted in the late reign to the prejudice of commerce; superseded all illegal protections for the delay of suits, and put a stop to the abuse of purveyors.

Strype.

The queen
and prince
Henry ar-
rive from
Scotland.

In a little time after his arrival in London, he sent a numerous train of noblemen and ladies into Scotland, to accompany his queen and children to his new dominions. She accordingly set out for England with prince Henry and the lady Elizabeth; but Charles being sickly, did not arrive till the month of October in the following year. James met his consort at the house of Sir George Farmer at Easton near Towcester; from whence he accompanied her to Windsor. Anne was a princess of violent resentment. She had lately miscarried; from a transport of indignation, at Stirling, where the servants of the earl of Mar refused to deliver prince Henry into her hands; and although the earl himself had no concern in this refusal, she would not be reconciled to him, until after she had been some time in England. When the king removed from the Tower to Greenwich, he knighted two hundred and thirty-seven persons, exclusive of a general summons, commanding all who possessed forty pounds a year in land, to come and receive the order of knighthood, or else compound with the king's commissioners. This was an expedient to raise money, suggested by Cecil, which did not at all enhance the reputation of the king; nor did he recommend himself to his subjects by his severity to Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to queen Elizabeth, that he had calumniated his person. This man still remained in prison at the accession of James, who now brought him to his trial; and he was condemned for having conspired

conspired against queen Elizabeth and some members of her council. A C. 1603. Memoirs de Sully.

Henry the French king being well acquainted with the weakness of James, sent over the marquis de Rosny, afterwards duc de Sully, to compliment him upon his accession to the throne of England; but his chief errand was to hinder the king from being cajoled by the Spaniards, to whom he had a warm side, and to renew the defensive alliance which had been made with Elizabeth; designs in which he succeeded according to the wishes of his master. The count d'Aremberg, ambassador from the archduke Albert and the infanta Isabella sovereigns of the Low-Countries, had got the start of the marquis de Rosny. During this minister's residence in England, he was either sick or feigned indisposition; and it was not till after the departure of the marquis, that he desired the king would send one of his council to know the purport of his embassy, which imported nothing but general compliments; though, in all probability, he had instructions to observe what passed at the court of James, and sound the monarch's inclinations touching a peace with Spain. These, indeed, he had already demonstrated, by recalling all the letters of marque which Elizabeth had granted to individuals.

He not only hankered after a pacification with Spain; but likewise entertained an aversion to the states-general, although they had more than once relieved him in his necessities. Such was his idea of the kingly power, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels; and even branded them in public with that denomination. Nevertheless, finding his new subjects of very different sentiments; and being convinced by the marquis de Rosny of his true interest, he, in his treaty with Henry IV. of France, agreed that they should be allowed to levy troops in the dominions of both kings, who should also assist

Peace with France, and a negotiation with Philip III. of Spain.

A. C. 1603. assist them with the annual sum of one million four hundred thousand livres, to be advanced by the French king, though he was at liberty to deduct one third of it from the debt which he owed to Elizabeth. It was also stipulated, that the two kings should mutually assist each other with a certain number of forces, in case of their being attacked by the Spanish monarch. Notwithstanding these engagements, James longed to be at peace with Philip III, who soon sent Taxis as his ambassador to congratulate the king on his accession, and demand that commissioners might be appointed to treat of a peace. The negotiation was accordingly begun, and ended in a treaty, which was ratified in the following year.

Conspiracy against the king's life by Sir Walter Raleigh and others.

The plague raging with redoubled force at London, during the heat of summer, the court retired to Wilton, an house in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, belonging to the earl of Pembroke. During the king's residence at that place, he discovered the plan of a strange conspiracy, projected by the lords Grey and Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, Markham George Brook, Anthony Copley, and two popish priests, named William Watson and William Clark. The design was to dethrone James, and substitute in his place his cousin Arabella Stuart. Lord Cobham undertook to treat with the archduke at Bruffels, for a supply of six hundred thousand crowns; as well as to present letters from the lady Arabella to the archduke, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, engaging to take a husband at their recommendation, and grant a free toleration to the catholics. The conspirators had also agreed that lord Cobham should demand the king's permission to levy two thousand men for the service of the Hollanders, and with those very troops to make sure of his majesty's person. They had actually conferred with the count d'Arenberg, and

and settled the shares of the money allotted to each individual. Lord Cobham had, by letter, desired an audience of the lady Arabella, in order to make her acquainted with the scheme; but, instead of granting his request, she forthwith sent his letter to the king. The design was discovered by a sister of Anthony Copley, who being alarmed at an expression which dropped from her brother, imparted it to her husband, and he communicated his suspicion to the lord admiral. Copley being apprehended, confessed the design. The other conspirators were arrested, tried at Winchester, and convicted of high treason. Raleigh made such a vigorous defence, and so little appeared against him, that every body exclaimed against those who found him guilty, though he was at that time the most unpopular man in the nation, on account of the part he acted in the prosecution of Essex. He was now condemned on the single testimony of the lord Cobham, a nobleman of weak intellects, and an infamous character. He had even retracted his first evidence against Raleigh, though he afterwards affirmed it; nor was he produced in court upon the trial. Notwithstanding these appearances of innocence, and the small likelihood of his engaging in such an unpromising scheme, with a set of idle confederates, divided in interest, politics, and religion, this great man was undoubtedly guilty. He had been superseded in his post of captain of the guard, and lost his office of lord warden of the stanneries: his passions were turbulent and impetuous; and the transports of his resentment overwhelming all his reflection, hurried him into this imprudent conspiracy. Cecil prosecuted him in the most rancorous manner, and Coke the attorney-general reviled him upon his trial in the most scurrilous terms of reproach. George Brook and the two priests were executed: the lords Cobham and Grey, with Mark-

A. C. 1603.

Beaumont
Dep.

A. C. 1604. Markham, were pardoned on the scaffold, even after having laid their heads upon the block; and Raleigh, though reprieved, was detained many years in the Tower, where he wrote his history of the world.

Camden,

Petitions for toleration by the papists and puritans.

Immediately after the discovery of this plot, the king returned from Wilton, and with the queen was crowned at Westminster. Then he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, who were not immediately necessary, to approach the court till winter, on account of the plague, which in the course of one year had swept off above thirty thousand souls in London, though the whole number of inhabitants at that period did not amount to two hundred thousand. The papists, flushed with the hope of a toleration, under a monarch who at one time seemed to favour their religion, presented a petition for this purpose: and were not a little mortified when he gave them to understand that he thought himself obliged to maintain those regulations in religion which he found in force at his accession. Though James was no enemy to the catholic religion, he was extremely averse to their attachment to the court of Rome, and the power of the papacy; add Cecil had persuaded him that a toleration was incompatible with his regal power and prerogative. The puritans flattering themselves with the hope of a more favourable answer from a prince who had been educated in their religion, petitioned not only for a toleration, but likewise demanded that he would give order for reforming some articles of the English doctrine and discipline with which they could not conform. There was no set of people which James detested so much as the puritans. The Scottish presbyterians had thwarted him on many occasions: they had treated his person with indecent familiarity, and his power with disrespect; and the republican spirit

rit by which they were animated could not but be extremely odious to a prince who prided himself in cherishing the most arbitrary maxims of absolute monarchy. A. C. 1603.

He had by this time joined in the English communion, and resolved to oblige the dissenters to a conformity with the established religion: but, with a view to maintain the appearance of impartiality, he desired that a conference might be held between some bishops and ministers of the puritan party at Hampton-court, where the king appeared in person, not as a judge, but with all the zeal of a warm partisan. He began with declaring that he would not alter one tittle of the established religion; and, indeed, they did not dissent so much in doctrinal points as in the exterior forms of worship, and in the government of the hierarchy. They complained, that the churches were filled with ignorant pastors; that they were obliged to conform to the book of Common-prayer, that contained many things which their consciences could not digest; that the clergy were subjected to the censure of laymen, by means of the high commission-court, which exercised the king's ecclesiastical supremacy: that the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the surplice worn by the priests, were superstitious ceremonies, and remnants of popery. These important articles produced warm debates, in which the king mingled with great eagerness. The chancellor exclaimed that he had often heard the priesthood was united to royalty; but now he was convinced of that truth by the learned arguments of his majesty. Archbishop Whitgift carried his flattery still higher, in declaring, he was persuaded that the king spoke from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The puritans, far from reaping any advantage from this conference, were exhorted to conform to the

Conferences at Hampton-court between the churchmen and dissenters.

A. C. 1604.

Wilson, Coke.

A. C. 1604. the established church, and even threatened with severe prosecution, in case of disobedience. If there was any state scheme on the part of the king in this disputation, it was to persuade the public that the ministers of the puritans were fairly confuted, and that nothing but obstinacy hindered them from uniting with the church; but in all probability he had no other design in proposing the conference than that of enjoying an opportunity to display his learning.

A great number of proclamations published.

In a few weeks after this fruitless conference, the metropolitan see of Canterbury became vacant by the death of archbishop Whitgift, who was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, a declared enemy of the protestant dissenters, against whom he raised such a persecution, that a great number of families retired to other countries, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. In the later end of February, a proclamation was issued, commanding all jesuits and priests ordained by foreign power, to leave the kingdom; and this was followed by another against the protestant nonconformists. A third was published, prohibiting all persons from hunting but such as were duly qualified. A fourth ordained, that an annual festival should be kept in remembrance of the king's miraculous deliverance from the conspiracy of Gowry; and, in a word, so many ordinances of this sort appeared, that this was called the reign of proclamations. In that by which the parliament was convoked, he exhibited a strong specimen of his arbitrary disposition. He commanded the counties and boroughs to return members of such qualifications as he described, on pain of their being excluded from parliament; and threatened any city, borough, or corporation, which should act contrary to this order, with fine and deprivation of privileges. On the fifteenth day of March, the king and queen rode in procession through

through the streets of London, which was now free from the plague; and, on the seventh day of July, the parliament met at Westminster. A. C. 1604.

To this assembly James made a long harangue, expatiated upon the happiness of the nation in his accession to the throne; explaining his sentiments of religion, and enforcing the maxims of his government. It was a cold, tedious, diffuse oration, stuffed with pedantic conceits, culled and studied for the occasion; and formed a natural picture of his own disposition and character, the strongest features of which were his sublime notion of the prerogative, his aversion to the puritans, his tenderness towards the Roman catholics, his vanity and self-importance. Instead of that admiration with which he hoped to inspire his audience, he met with little else than disapprobation and contempt. The members were offended at the expressions he used in favour of the Roman catholics, whom he promised to meet half way in the road of reformation. The puritans were incensed to find themselves represented by the king as a sect of republicans that ought not to be tolerated in a monarchical government; and the nation in general were disgusted at his comparing Scotland with England, as one equal half of the island, which he wished to see united under the same religion, laws, and government. The business with which the parliament began, was an act to acknowledge and confirm his title to the crown of England, though he would have willingly dispensed with this mark of their regard, as he depended entirely on his hereditary title. His branding the puritans, without distinction, as men of a turbulent and republican spirit, not only alienated that powerful sect from all affection to him and his family, but also obliged them, for their own preservation, to unite and coalesce with the political malcontents of the kingdom;

Proceedings
in parliament.

Richard.
Wilkes.
Colce.

A. C. 1604. dom; and this junction formed a party strong enough to shake the English monarchy to its foundation. As James had, in his proclamation for convoking the parliament, struck at the freedom of election, the house of commons took the first opportunity of ascertaining their own privileges. Sir Francis Goodwin being returned for the county of Bucks, was pronounced an out-law by the chancellor. His seat was vacated; a writ issued for a new election, and Sir John Fortescue chosen in his room. The house reversed the chancellor's decree, and restored Sir Francis to his seat. They refused to hold a conference with the lords on this subject. In a remonstrance to the king, they maintained, that though the returns were made into chancery, the right of judging elections belonged to the house: yet they afterwards appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council; and, in order to save the honour of the king, who interested himself warmly in this affair, they agreed to an expedient which he proposed; namely, that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by warrant of the house, for a new election: thus, however, they secured their own right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. This was the first effort of that parliamentary spirit which in the next reign became too powerful for the sovereign. The commons were no longer a passive herd, obsequious to the will of an imperious monarch. They had acquired wealth and property from traffic: their ideas were expanded by learning and commerce, which now had made considerable progress in many parts of Europe, as well as in England; and they were fired with a spirit of independence, which they had now an opportunity of exerting to advantage, under a weak prince, a foreigner, who did not understand the genius of his subjects, and who, instead

stead of conciliating their affection, incurred the hatred of a powerful party, by his ridiculous and impolitic distinctions. James had nothing so much at heart as the union of the two kingdoms. This seems to have been his chief end in assembling the parliament, which he thought he had eloquence enough to persuade into such a measure. They accordingly appointed commissioners to treat with those of Scotland; but they were too much incensed at the king's partiality for his own countrymen, to deliberate in earnest upon the proposal. In the mean time, James, in order to abolish the distinction of England and Scotland, assumed the title of king of Great Britain; joined the armorial ensigns of the two kingdoms; and, by an express proclamation, rendered the Scottish coin current in England. The commons were already so dissatisfied with their new monarch, that when a supply was proposed by some members attached to the court, warm debates arose; and the motion would have been rejected by a majority, had not the king prevented that disgrace by sending a message to the house, declaring he desired no subsidy. Then he prorogued the parliament, in which he had the mortification to see the puritanical interest plainly predominate.

A. C. 1604.

Wilson

Coke.

Peace with Spain.

Immediately after the prorogation, a treaty of peace with Spain was concluded at London, as also another that wholly related to commerce. They were negotiated by Taxis and Richardot, and afterwards signed by the constable of Castile, who came over from the Low-Countries for that purpose. The most remarkable article of this peace imported, That James should fix a day, before the expiration of which, the states of the United Provinces should make peace with the archduke; and, in case of their refusal, the king of England should deem himself absolved from all engagements with that confederacy.

N^o 61.

C

racy.

A. C. 1604. racy. Nevertheless, he neither fixed the time, nor withdrew his troops from their service : nay, he even restored the places they had mortgaged, on payment of a much smaller sum than that for which they were deposited. It was after the conclusion of this treaty, that the town of Ostend capitulated, having been three years besieged by the Spaniards, who found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins in recompence for the vast sums of money, and the incredible number of lives which had been expended in the conquest. James, without concerning himself about the fate of this fortress, resolved to improve his new connection with Spain ; and the earl of Nottingham lord high admiral was appointed his ambassador extraordinary to that court, for which he took his departure with a very numerous and magnificent retinue ; while the earl of Hertford was dispatched as envoy to Brussels.

Baker.

A. C. 1605.

Gunpowder
plot.

James had not long enjoyed the benefit of this pacification, when he was exposed to the most imminent danger, by one of the blackest conspiracies that ever was hatched. The laws against popish recusants had been put in execution ; and their estates were sequestered, and assigned to courtiers, with whom they were forced to compound. These severities inflicted by a prince from whom the papists expected the mildest treatment, exasperated them to such a degree, that the ruin of him and his family became their constant wish and prayer ; and some bigots of that persuasion devoted him to destruction. Robert Catesby of Ashby, and Francis Tresham of Rushton in Northamptonshire, encouraged by Henry Garnet superior of the English jesuits in England, had immediately before the death of Elizabeth sent Thomas Winter to Spain, to solicit an invasion of their own country ; and even after the death of that princess, they employed other emissaries to carry on the negotiation :

but

but all their measures were broken by the last A. C. 1605.
 treaty between James and Philip; and they concerted a new scheme of a much more horrible nature. The invention is charged to Catesby, who proposed that the house of lords should be blown up with gunpowder at the opening of the session of parliament, when the king, queen, prince of Wales, with all the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, and the most considerable persons of the kingdom would be present. Their purpose was, after this dreadful massacre should have been effected, to secure the person of the princess Elizabeth, who lived with her governess the lady Harrington at Combe near Coventry, proclaim her queen, and charge the mischief on the puritans. For the execution of this infernal scene, Piercy one of the conspirators hired a vault or cellar immediately under the house of lords; and by means of Fawkes an old soldier, whom they had brought from Flanders, conveyed into it thirty barrels of gunpowder, artfully covering them with billets and faggots, as a store of fuel which Piercy had provided for the winter. Private attachment hath often prevented public calamity. Before the parliament met, William Parker lord Monteagle, received a letter from one of the conspirators, probably from Tresham, who was kinsman to his lady, advising him to be absent from the ensuing session; for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times; and intimating, that the parliament would sustain a terrible blow, without knowing from whom it should come. He likewise observed, that the danger would be past in as little time as he should take to burn the letter. Monteagle, being puzzled by this advertisement, carried it at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who being as much perplexed as the other about the meaning of those enigmatical expressions,

A. C. 1595. consulted the earl of Suffolk, who was lord chamberlain. The letter was afterwards imparted to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, before the king came to Westminster from Royston. James, having carefully perused this dark intimation, is said to have guessed the design of the conspirators; and though many people believed he was on this occasion prompted by Cecil, who made this little sacrifice to the king's vanity, no reason appears in history for depriving him of the honour of the discovery. Personal timidity was one of his principal foibles which he is said to have inherited from his mother's womb, and derived from the fright she underwent at the murder of Riccio. Fear is ever quick-sighted; and the imagination of such a prince must have been always teeming with those ideas that were the most dreadful to his apprehension. Nothing is so terrible to a coward as the effect of gunpowder; and this having been uppermost in the recollection of James, no wonder that he should interpret into an explosion, the sudden, unseen blow that should come without their seeing who hurt them, and have its effect in as little time as a man would take to burn a letter. It was resolved that the houses and vaults adjoining and belonging to the house of peers, should be searched on the eve of the intended meeting of parliament. On the fourth day of November, the lord chamberlain, accompanied by the lord Monteagle, went as usual, to take a slight survey of the neighbouring houses; and the cellar being left open, to avoid suspicion, perceived an extraordinary quantity of wood, which he thought Piercy could not possibly consume for his own use in one winter. This circumstance augmented his suspicion; and Sir Thomas Knevet steward of Westminster was ordered, on pretence of searching for stolen tapestry, to see the wood removed, that

if

if there was any thing underneath, it might appear. A.C. 1607.
 He went thither at midnight, with proper attendants, and apprehending Fawkes at the cellar-door, in his boots, with a dark lanthorn in his hand, found a tinder-box, and three matches in his pockets; then the wood being removed, they discovered the barrels of gunpowder. He appeared as Piercy's servant, and was hardened enough to avow his design, when examined before the council; but he refused to discover his accomplices, who hearing of his being apprehended, fled into different parts of the country. Catesby, Piercy, and the chief of the conspirators, retired to Warwickshire, in hope of raising, by the interest of Sir Everhard Digby, a sufficient number of recusants to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was immediately removed to Coventry: so that this design was also prevented. Then they repaired to Holbech in Staffordshire, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton; and there they were invested by Sir Richard Walsh high-sheriff of Worcestershire, with his posse, as they had broke open stables, and stole horses in the adjoining counties. In preparing for their defence, they met with a miserable disappointment in the explosion of their gunpowder, by which some of them were terribly scorched. Nevertheless their case being desperate, they resolved to force a passage through their assailants. Catesby, Piercy, and the two Winters were killed on the spot; Graunt, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates were taken and conveyed to London, where they discovered all the circumstances of the conspiracy. Tresham being afterwards apprehended, confessed the whole plot, and was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died of a strangury. The earl of Northumberland being committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, was afterwards condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds for
 C 3 having

A. C. 1696, having admitted Piercy into the band of pensioners, without exacting from him the oath of supremacy. On the twenty-seventh day of January, eight of the conspirators, of whom Sir Everhard Digby pleaded guilty to the indictment, were convicted of treason; and he, together with Robert Winter, Graunt, and Bates, were executed at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, suffered in the Old-palace-yard. Garnet, superior of the jesuits in England, was condemned for having administered the oath of secrecy, with the sacrament, to the conspirators; and otherwise encouraged them in the undertaking. At his execution, he confessed the guilt and iniquity of the enterprize; and exhorted the Roman catholics to abstain from all such treasonable practices. Littleton, Hall, and others, were executed in the country; and the lord Monteagle was rewarded with a grant of lands to the value of two hundred pounds a-year, and an annual pension of five hundred.

Winwood.
Thuanus.
Wilson.
Echard.

Severe acts
against the
catholics.

The parliament meeting on the appointed day, adjourned to the ninth of November, when the king in a long speech, assumed the merit of having unriddled the mysterious letter; and, in order to manifest his tenderness to the catholics, distinguished between those who acknowledged the pope's supremacy, and such as were good subjects to their sovereign, though they believed in transubstantiation, and other scholastic dogmas of the Roman church. At the same time he did not fail to disclose his aversion to the puritans, whom he represented as a sect that deserved to be punished with penal fire, because they believed that no papist could be saved; as if this was not a reproach that might have been much more justly levelled against the whole body of catholics: but this is one of the many absurdities of his rancorous prejudice against those

those who were supposed to favour republican principles. The two houses having passed an act, for observing the fifth day of November as an annual thanksgiving for the deliverance of the king and parliament, proceeded to take measures for the discovery of popish recusants, and the prevention of their treasonable designs. In one statute they enacted, That those who should be found guilty of having absented themselves from the church for one whole month, should forfeit two thirds of their estates: That all conformists should receive the sacrament once a-year in their parish-churches: That all recusants should take a new oath of allegiance, renouncing the papal power of absolving subjects from the obedience due to their sovereign; and abjuring, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine of Rome, implying, That princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, might be deposed, or murdered by their subjects. But the most severe step taken against the catholics, was another act, prohibiting popish recusants from coming within ten miles of London, or going to the distance of five miles from their own houses, without special licence signed by four justices of the peace: from practising law or physic: from acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any corporation, or as executors or administrators: from presenting to livings, schools, or hospitals; and rendering their children incapable of inheriting estates, should they omit taking the oath of allegiance at the age of eighteen. These acts, however, dictated by the resentment of the nation, were not rigorously put in execution; though the majority of the catholics, with Blackwell their superior, consented to take the oath of allegiance, notwithstanding a brief of pope Urban VIII. who forbade them to comply on pain of eternal damnation.

A. C. 1606.

The aver-
sion of the
English to
an union
with Scot-
land.

The mutual danger to which the king and parliament had been exposed from the gunpowder plot, seemed to increase their regard for each other; and the commons indulged him with a subsidy which amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. This was a very seasonable supply for enabling him to entertain his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, and the prince of Vaudemont third son of the duke of Savoy, who visited his court in the course of this summer, and were regaled at an incredible expence with plays, balls, masks, and interludes, which did more honour to the hospitality than to the taste and invention of the entertainer. The prorogation of the parliament being expired, James earnestly exhorted the two houses to bring the union of the two kingdoms to perfection; and Bacon the solicitor-general recommended it in a very elegant harrangue. The king had already published a proclamation, declaring all those who were born since his accession to the throne of England, naturalized in both kingdoms. Hearing the two houses were very backward in proceeding upon this subject, he sent for them to Whitehall, where he undertook to answer all their objections; and told them they would be guilty of a double iniquity, should they refuse to grant his request. Notwithstanding these eager remonstrances, the parliament would not agree to the union; and all he could obtain was, a revocation of the hostile laws subsisting between the two nations. The English objected to an union with a kingdom so inferior to their own in power, riches, and extent: to the difference of laws and customs; and to the antient league between France and Scotland: but the real source of their aversion to this measure was a national animosity, inflamed by the king's partial distribution of his favours. Sir Christopher Pigot, knight of the shire for Bucks, launched out into invectives against the Scots, whom he reviled as proud

proud fellows, robbers, beggars, rebels, and traitors. He said twenty Scots were not worth one Englishman: and that there was no more comparison between the one and the other, than between a judge on the bench and a thief at the bar. The natives of Scotland who belonged to the court were so incensed at these reflections, that they not only retorted the obloquy, with menaces of revenge, but also presented a formal complaint to the king, who entered warmly into the resentment of his countrymen, thinking himself insulted in the general reproach. The house being informed of his majesty's displeasure, ordered Pigot to be brought to the bar, where he qualified his expressions by protesting, that he did not mean to revile the whole Scottish nation; but that his words related only to some part of the Western islands. Notwithstanding this explanation, he was expelled the house, and committed to prison. Yet, after the recess of parliament during the Easter holidays, many members spoke with great acrimony in contempt of the king's person, and even pronounced the Scots happy in being remote from the presence of such a prince. James was so exasperated at these indecent freedoms, that in a speech to the parliament, he declared, since they wished his absence, he would either reside alternately in England and Scotland, or fix his habitation at York or Berwick. The commons intended to have desired, in an address, that he would not listen to private reports, but learn the sense of the house from the mouth of the speaker; that he would give those members whom he had blamed an opportunity to clear themselves in his presence, and allow them to speak freely in parliament on any subject that might fall under their cognizance. The king being apprised of their intention, sent a message, importing, That he was extremely tender of their privileges; and that

A. C. 1607. that every member might speak freely, though with modesty and discretion. When they had passed the bill for abolishing the laws of hostility against the Scottish nation, he prorogued the parliament to the sixteenth day of November, and the prorogation was afterwards continued.

At this period, an insurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester. The peasants assembled to the number of four thousand, under the command of John Reynolds, known by the appellation of captain Pouch, and for a whole month employed themselves in demolishing parks and inclosures. The sheriffs raising their posses, worsted them in several encounters: at length they dispersed, in consequence of a proclamation, promising redress of their grievances; and captain Pouch with some other ring-leaders being taken, were executed for high treason. In the beginning of this reign, the lord Montjoy had brought the earl of Tyrone from Ireland, and presented him to the king, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. But he was of such a restless and turbulent spirit, that he could not live in quiet; and after his return to his own country, he not only raised a fresh insurrection, but even demanded succours from foreign powers. His efforts miscarrying, he fled to the continent, with the earl of Tyrconnel, whom he had engaged in his rebellious practices; and pretended that the cruelties exercised upon the papists of Ireland had compelled him to quit his country. James, in answer to this calumny, published an apology, to prove that he had treated the Roman catholics with great tenderness. In the beginning of this year, the archduke had sent father Ney, provincial of the order of St. Francis, with proposals of peace to the states of the United Provinces; and prince Maurice gave him to understand, that

Baker,
Coke,

King James
publishes an
apology for
his conduct.

that there could be no pacification, unless the king of Spain would acknowledge the provinces as a free and independent state. The ecclesiastic having signified this answer to the archduke, was dispatched a second time to Holland, with a writing signed by Albert and the infanta, with which the states-general were satisfied, on condition that it should be ratified at the court of Spain. Henry IV. of France, being informed of this transaction, sent the president Jeanin, to offer his mediation to the states, which they forthwith accepted. But, in order to avoid giving cause of jealousy to James, they demanded his advice and assistance; and afterwards sent an ambassador to London, to make him acquainted with the situation of their affairs. When Philip's ratification arrived, it was found so full of equivocal expressions, that they were obliged to demand an explanation, in consequence of which demand the negotiation was protracted; though, in the mean time, both sides enjoyed the benefit of a cessation.

Grotius.

The succeeding year was remarkable for little else than the execution of two popish priests, who refused to take the oath of allegiance: the death of the earl of Dorset, who was succeeded in his post of lord high treasurer, by Cecil earl of Salisbury; an exclusive privilege granted to a merchant for dressing and dying broad-cloth, which had formerly been sent to Holland for that purpose: the king's monopolizing the sale of alum, which had been lately discovered in England: a difference with the Dutch, who were forbidden to fish upon the coasts of Great Britain, until they engaged by treaty to pay a yearly sum for that privilege; and the enmity which archbishop Bancroft expressed against the puritans, a great number of whom resolved to settle in Virginia, where they hoped to be out of the reach of persecution. Many families actually embarked

A. C. 1608. barked for that colony; and the rest were prevented by a proclamation, forbidding them to quit the kingdom without an express licence from the king, who began to fear this sect would become too numerous and powerful in America. James continued to indulge himself in his favourite diversion of hunting, and dispensed his favours with such a prodigal hand, that he was exposed to all the mortifications of indigence. Indeed, several circumstances concurred with his own lavish disposition to involve him in manifold difficulties. The crown was indebted at his accession in a large sum, which Elizabeth had borrowed of the Londoners. That princess had alienated or mortgaged the crown-lands, in order to exempt her subjects from impositions. The increase of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had not only introduced a more luxurious manner of living than that which had obtained in the reigns of his predecessors, but at the same time raised the price of provisions and every other commodity: so that, as his subjects became wealthy from commerce, he became power; for his revenue did not increase in proportion: the fee-farm rents underwent no alteration; and the crown-lands were let in long leases, greatly under value.

James's prodigality.

Treaty with the Dutch.

Though James payed very little regard to the affairs or interest of the States-general, yet he did not fail to demand the payment of the debt which they owed to the crown of England, amounting to eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds sterling. After some disputes, matters were adjusted, and the plenipotentiaries of each nation signed a defensive league, importing, That James should assist in obtaining for the states a just and honourable peace; and defend them with a certain number of ships and forces, in case they should be attacked. In return for these stipulations,

lations, they entered into the like engagements for the safety of him and his dominions. In another treaty concluded at the same time, they acknowledged themselves indebted to him for the sum already specified, and promised to discharge it at the rate of thirty thousand pounds payed half yearly; the first payment to commence in two years after the peace with Spain. All former treaties were confirmed, together with the privileges heretofore enjoyed by the English in Holland, and the Dutch in England.

Winwood;
Rymer.

These treaties being ratified, the king of England sent Robert Spencer to the Hague, with powers to assist at the congress, in conjunction with Winwood his ambassador in ordinary. The king of Spain had ratified the archduke's declaration touching the independence of the States, only on condition, that the peace should take effect; and they refused to treat on any other footing than that of a free state. They also received intelligence, that Philip had endeavoured to detach the king of Great Britain from their interest, by means of Don Fernando de Gironne, who repaired to the court of London, in quality of ambassador extraordinary. This circumstance was the more alarming, as James declared, upon all occasions, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels; for he did not believe that in any case whatsoever, subjects had a right to withdraw themselves from the dominion of their sovereign. These being his sentiments, no wonder that his ambassadors acted a very inconsiderable part at the negotiation for a general peace. Jeanin the French president directed the conferences; but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he could not obtain the consent of both parties to a pacification. Thus baffled, he proposed a truce for twelve or fifteen years; and to this with difficulty they agreed. The king of Spain and the arch-

Truce for
twelve years
between the
king of
Spain and
the States-
general.

A. C. 1609.

A. C. 1609. archduke acknowledged the States as a free and independent power, and they still maintained their commerce to the East-Indies, which had been one of the principal difficulties that occurred in the negotiation. These advantages were not at all agreeable to the king of England, who considered their success as a precedent dangerous to the regal authority, of which he entertained such a sublime idea, that, in the course of this year, he granted a licence to print and publish two books, written in defence of the most despotic maxims. The first, composed by one Cowel a clergyman, maintained, that the king was not bound by the laws of the land, or by the oath which he took at his coronation. The author of the second was doctor Blackwood another ecclesiastic, who affirmed as a leading principle, that by the conquest of William the Norman, the English had forfeited all their liberties. James understanding how much the people were offended by these performances, and hearing the parliament intended to make examples of the authors, anticipated their resentment, by prohibiting the sale of the books, and recalling the copies by proclamation.

A. C. 1610. Being by this time reduced to great distress for want of money, he resolved to solicit a subsidy in this session; and the houses meeting on the nineteenth day of February, the earl of Salisbury was ordered to demand the supply. In order to conciliate their affections, he began with assuring them, that his majesty was resolved to redress all their grievances; and, as a mark of his singular affection, would confer the order of knighthood upon his eldest son Henry prince of Wales, during the session. He then proceeded to explain the causes of the king's indigence, observing, that he had paid the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland;

Ireland; that he had expended great sums in the funeral of Elizabeth, in his own journey, and that of his queen and children, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark, and the foreign ambassadors; in maintaining three separate courts for himself, his consort, and the prince of Wales; in sending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He launched out into extravagant encomiums upon the king's wisdom and probity; and declared that his majesty, far from intending to rule despotically, was ready at all times to hear the remonstrances of his parliament, provided they would confine themselves within proper bounds, without deviating from that respect which was due to such a great and gracious sovereign. Notwithstanding these professions, the members of the house of commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and excessive profusion towards his own countrymen. Others ventured to affirm, that his intention was to sap the privileges of the subject by gradual usurpation. He had been heard to declare at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be substituted in room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatise called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowel on that subject; but the chief cause of their complaint was the high commission court, which had exercised great severities against the puritans, whose party was espoused by a majority of the commons.

James, being informed of these proceedings, had recourse to his own eloquence, which he thought irresistible, and harangued the two houses at Whitehall. His speech, however, was very ill calculated to soothe the animosity of his people. He told them, that the prerogative of kings resembled the divine power: that, as God could create or annihilate,

They proceeded with great vivacity against the king's conduct.

A. C. 1610. annihilate; make or unmake, according to his own will; so kings could bestow life or death, and judge all mankind without being subject to any earthly judicature. They could exalt the lowly, and abase the lofty: and, like persons playing at chess, make a simple pawn overcome a knight or bishop: nevertheless, all kings, that were not tyrants, would confine themselves to the laws they had enacted. He affirmed, that as it was held blasphemous to dispute what God may do, so was it seditious in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. He assured them of his attachment to the common law, provided it were reviewed and corrected. He desired they would not intermeddle with him on the exercise of government, which he called King-craft; for he had been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship in England; so that there needed no Phormios to teach Hannibal. Finally, he expatiated upon his own necessities, and demanded a supply; observing that his reputation was now at stake among foreign princes; for, should his request be refused, the world would impute his disappointment either to his own lack of merit or to their want of affection. The commons, though highly disgusted at some of the maxims he had broached, thought proper to dissemble their resentment, and express a willingness to comply with the king's desires. The earl of Salisbury moved for a conference with the commons, in order to obtain an adequate supply for his majesty's present occasions, as well as a grant for two hundred thousand pounds a year, for the future support of his royal dignity. The commons fired at this proposal, and voted only one subsidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to the sixth part of what had been asked for the king's present occasions. They refused to settle any standing revenue, unless the king would purchase it with some

Wilson.

some valuable consideration. They complained of respites of homages, and consented to settle an annual revenue of two hundred thousand pounds, provided wardships should be suppressed, purveyances abolished, and some further privileges granted to the subject: but they afterwards rose in their demands, and insisted upon the redress of their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of laws; of the power arrogated by the high commission-court; of his majesty's having altered the book of rates, and imposed new customs on certain species of merchandise. They petitioned that no body should be forced to lend money to the king, or to give a reason for his refusal; and, having received divers messages forbidding them to debate upon his right of laying imposts, they represented that it was their fundamental right to debate freely upon all matters that concerned the subject. They afterwards passed a bill against taxes and impositions on merchants and merchandise; but it was thrown out of the house of lords at the first reading.

Winwood.

During this session, young Henry was created prince of Wales in the sixteenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents and an amiable character, by which he acquired the love and esteem of the English people. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person; and there was a martial turn in his disposition, that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation. He kept his court at St. James's, while his mother resided at Somerset-house, where she lived at great expence: so that James was obliged to maintain three separate households, as has been already observed. At length the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth

The king creates his son Henry prince of Wales.

A. C. 1616, tenth day of October; the king and they parting
equally dissatisfied with each other

Echard.
Coke.

Henry IV.
of France is
assassinated.

James began to leave the administration entirely in the hands of his ministers; and, while he indulged himself in hunting, paid very little attention to the affairs of the continent, when the house of Austria endeavoured to aggrandize itself at the expence of its neighbours. The elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuberg, who were competitors for the succession of the duke of Cleves, perceiving that the emperor Rodolphus II. intended to defraud them both of the inheritance, compromised their difference; and implored the assistance of France and Holland. Henry IV. had already resolved to humble the house of Austria, and was glad of having this pretence for commencing hostilities. He promised to lead his troops in person into the country of Cleves; and desired the States-general to send thither prince Maurice with part of their forces; but in the midst of these preparations, he was assassinated by Ravillac, who stabbed him as he alighted from his coach, in the very middle of his own capital. The murderer was a desperate bigot, who had lately resided in Brussels, where his enthusiasm had been inflamed by the emissaries of Spain. As he had acted upon the maxim of the jesuits, who looked upon Henry as an heretic in his heart, James was alarmed at an event which might affect his own preservation: in order to secure himself against a set of men, who maintained such a detestable doctrine, he published a proclamation, commanding all jesuits to quit the kingdom, and prohibiting all popish recusants from coming within ten miles of the court. Then he exacted the oath of allegiance from all his subjects.

Although the court of Spain was generally suspected of having effected the death of the French monarch,

monarch, James discovered a warm inclination to be more closely connected with Philip. Perhaps he thought it would be a prudent step to acquire the friendship of a power so formidable to protestant princes. He therefore dispatched the lord Cornwall to Spain, with proposals of a match between the prince of Wales and the eldest infant. Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, died about this period, after he had obtained a patent for founding a college at Chelsea for the maintenance of able theologists, to confute, in their sermons and writings, the adversaries of the English church, whether papists or puritans. Bancroft was succeeded in the metropolitan see by George Abbot, who was of a character very different from that of his predecessor, and even accused of being a puritan in his heart. When the parliament re-assembled, the king found the commons still inauspicious, complaining, and inquisitive; and therefore dissolved them by proclamation, after they had sat seven years. Then the ministers were obliged to find means for raising money to relieve the king in his necessities.

A. C. 1610.

Abbot promoted to the see of Canterbury.

Wilson.

The court now expressed uncommon joy at seeing him freed from such troublesome counsellors: it resounded with music, mirth; and jollity, while the English and Scottish dependents vied with each other in their endeavours to attach the king to some favourite, who should be the dispenser of his bounty. He was much more pleased with personal beauty than any other qualification; and the first object that made an impression upon him was Robert Carr, a youth who had been his page in Scotland. Since that time he had travelled in France, and acquired some exterior accomplishments, which served to set off the beauty of his person. The lord Hay, looking upon him as a proper subject for the king's weakness, caused him to be arrayed in

A. C. 1611.

Robert Carr becomes the king's favourite.

A. C. 1611. the gayest apparel; and, at a public tilting match, invested him with the office of presenting the buckler and device to his majesty. Performing this service, his horse, being unruly, flung him to the ground, and his leg was broke by the violence of the fall. James could not help taking particular notice of this accident; he was struck with the beauty of Carr's person, as well as with the richness of his apparel, and gave order for his being lodged in the palace, where he visited him after the tournament. He found him extremely illiterate, and was charmed with his simplicity; resolving to mould this ductile clay according to his own fancy and inclination. He now undertook the office of a pedagogue, for which indeed he seemed to have been designed both by nature and education. He took infinite pleasure in teaching him the rudiments of the Latin tongue. He created him knight, and gentleman of his bedchamber. The earl of Dunbar, who possessed a good share of the king's favour, dying at this juncture, Carr engrossed the whole without a rival, and succeeded that nobleman as treasurer of Scotland. He was afterwards made baron of Brandspech, and viscount of Rochester; finally honoured with the order of the garter, and enriched with grants and donations*.

James, about this time, was roused from his indolence by a theological dispute that happened in Holland between the disciples of Francis Go-

* The king having one day presented him with an order upon the Exchequer for five thousand pounds sterling, the earl of Salisbury, lord high-treasurer, made use of a stratagem to convince the king of his own prodigality. He invited his majesty to dinner, and conducted him through an apartment, where he saw the whole sum in specie upon a table. James,

surprised at the sight of so much gold, asked what use he intended to make of this treasure? and the other answering, with affected indifference, it was the money which his majesty had ordered for the viscount of Rochester; the king swore it was too much for any private man, and desired the treasurer would give no more than two thousand pounds. Wilton.

marus

marus and James Arminius, concerning absolute predestination, and the inamissibility of grace. Arminius dying, his place of professor of theology in the university of Leyden was filled with Conrad Vorstius, professor at Steinfort, who had already published a treatise intituled *De Deo*, which had drawn upon him the enmity of all the Gomarians. He published an apology; notwithstanding which they reviled him as a Socinian, and offered to demonstrate damnable errors in both his performances. The king of England, having perused his treatise and apology, was so shocked at his heretical opinions, that he forthwith sent a list of them to Winwood his ambassador at the Hague, with orders to declare to the States, that he was resolved to publish a manifesto, expressing his detestation of those errors, as well as of those who permitted them to be circulated. In the mean time he ordered some copies of the treatise and apology to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The States-general, though not a little shocked at the insolence of his interposition, answered the ambassador's memorial in a civil manner; yet, nevertheless, Vorstius was received in his professorship. James wrote to them, declaring that simple death was too gentle a punishment for such a wretch, whom if they resolved to tolerate, he would separate from the communion of Holland, and take such measures that other churches should follow his example. The States, being unwilling to break with the king of England, told the ambassador, that they had ordered Vorstius to abstain from the exercise of his office, until a new assembly could be convened, in order to enquire into the affair. James, not yet satisfied with this answer, published a declaration, in which he treated the States of Holland with very little ceremony; and

A. C. 1611.
James declares himself an enemy to Vorstius the successor of Arminius.

Winwood,
Willson.

A. C. 1611. they, in order to avoid a quarrel, dismissed Vorstius from Leyden, though they procured another settlement for him at Gouda. All this exertion in James, a prince of remarkable indolence, who had already treated transubstantiation and the number of the sacraments as scholastic questions, of little consequence to salvation, is not to be accounted for but from his vanity and self-conceit. He thought himself the most able theologist in the whole world; and, after he had signified his sentiments on this dispute, he could not brook the least opposition. Perhaps too he was influenced by motives of resentment against pensionary Barnevelt, the patron of Vorstius, whom he hated as a rank republican.

His sagacity
in settling
Ireland.

No transaction of this reign reflected so much honour on the sovereign as did the settlement of Ireland, in which James had been seriously engaged ever since his accession to the English throne. He began with passing an act of oblivion, to quiet the minds of the people. He took them into his immediate protection, indulged them with the benefit of the English laws, and caused justice to be administered with the utmost impartiality. Wicklow, Wexford, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, the northern parts of Ulster, half of Connaught, and all Munster were divided into counties, supplied with sheriffs and justices of the peace; and the judges made their circuits regularly twice a year. The lords and chieftains made surrender of their lands to the crown; and, before they were regrant-ed, all oppressive exactions were abolished. The Irish duties, rents, and services, were valued and reduced to certain sums of money, on payment of which the tenants possessed their lands in security; so that the most miserable slavery was succeeded by wealth and independence. Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Odogharty, and other rebellious chieftains, being forfeited; their possessions, together with Ard-
magh,

magh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh, A. C. 1611.
 which had escheated to the crown, were granted out
 in different portions to English, Scottish, and Irish
 adventurers, in order to be properly cultivated. Carte.
 These undertakers obliged themselves to make
 certain improvements; and, in a word, such mea-
 sures were taken, that Ulster, the wildest part of
 Ireland, became one of the best cultivated coun-
 tries in Europe.

James now enjoyed himself in the most profound A. C. 1621.
 tranquillity, which was seldom invaded but by the Death of the
 difficulty he found in raising money for his ordi- prince of
 nary expence. He caused his mother's body to be Wales.
 transported from the church of Peterborough to
 Westminster, and deposited in the chapel founded
 by Henry VII. and, in the course of this year, he
 had an opportunity to exhibit an agreeable speci-
 men of impartiality in the execution of lord San-
 quar, a Scottish nobleman, who was convicted for
 having murdered a fencing-master. In vain did
 the archbishop of Canterbury and several other
 noblemen intercede for this malefactor: James,
 perceiving how much the English nation was exas-
 perated at his partiality for his countrymen, pru-
 dently sacrificed him to their resentment. In the
 month of October, Frederic V. elector palatine,
 arrived in England, in order to espouse the princess
 Elizabeth; and was entertained with great magni-
 ficence: but, in the midst of these rejoicings, the
 nation was overwhelmed with sorrow, by the death
 of Henry prince of Wales, who, being seized with
 an epidemic fever, expired on the twelfth day of
 November, in the nineteenth year of his age. He
 is celebrated by historians as one of the most pro- Coke.
 mising princes that ever any country produced, Willon.
 and died universally regretted by the people, not
 without suspicion of poison, which was even im-
 puted to the contrivance of his own father. But
 this

A. C. 1612. this seems to be a groundless calumny, built upon some expression of the king, which argued him jealous of his son's popularity, and afraid of his martial disposition. Certain it is, prince Henry despised his father's pusillanimity, and publicly disapproved of his conduct; and James payed so little deference to the memory of this excellent prince, that he would not even allow the courtiers to wear mourning. His death did not even interrupt the preparations for his daughter's marriage: which, however, was deferred a few weeks, until Henry's funeral obsequies could be performed.

A. C. 1613. The elector palatine, having been installed a knight of the garter, was, on the fourteenth day of February, married to the princess Elizabeth, and the nuptials were celebrated with incredible pomp and profusion, the expence of which the king was enabled to defray by an aid from the people. This he demanded and received, as an antient custom observed upon all such occasions. The elector remained in England about six weeks after his marriage; and all that time was spent in feasts, balls, masquerades, and other diversions. The city of London made a superb entertainment for the new married couple, and presented the electress with a pearl necklace of immense value. In the month of May, James sustained another irreparable loss by the death of Cecil earl of Salisbury, a solid politician, who was perfectly acquainted with the genius of the people, and the affairs of the kingdom. His weight and sagacity served as a counterpoise to the rashness and ignorance of the other ministers; and he possessed the art of diverting the king insensibly from the pursuit of measures that might have been attended with pernicious consequences. He was succeeded in the post of treasurer by the earl of Suffolk, who had neither his talents nor integrity.

The

The lord Rochester still continued to engross the favour of his sovereign, and bore his good fortune with such equanimity and discretion, as rendered him equally agreeable to the prince and people. He carefully avoided the least appearance of partiality towards his own countrymen, and conducted himself according to the counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of virtue, sagacity, and experience, who carefully directed him how to shun those rocks upon which so many favourites had been shipwrecked. But at length, all the wisdom of the monitor proved insufficient to guard him against the allurements of a baneful passion that hurried him into ruin and disgrace. He became enamoured of the countess of Essex, daughter to the earl of Suffolk, one of the most beautiful young ladies in the kingdom. She had been married at the age of thirteen; and her husband, being likewise a minor, the consummation of the marriage was deferred until he should return from his travels. Mean while Rochester found means to make an impression upon her heart, and they gratified their mutual passion in stolen interviews. The king himself was privy to this amour; for he delighted in acting the part of a confident in such intercourse, as well as in listening to tales of obscenity, which his courtiers often invented for his entertainment. The return of Essex interrupted the enjoyment of the lovers: that nobleman, fired with the charms of his young consort, claimed the privilege of a husband with all the impatience of youthful ardour. She had conceived a detestation of Essex, which increased in proportion to her affection for Rochester; she treated him with indifference, coldness, and repulse; and, by means of one Turner, a physician's widow, had recourse to a pretended magician of the name of Forman, who supplied her with powders, which he said would render her husband impotent. Whatever means

A. C. 1613.
Amour between lord Rochester and the young countess of Essex.

A. C. 1633. means were used, the earl found it impossible to converse with his lady, who practised so many extraordinary methods to inspire him with aversion and disgust, that she at length succeeded in her endeavours. He began to think she was different from all the other individuals of her sex; and the extravagant sorrow she affected to display, persuaded him that her heart was in the possession of some more favoured lover. On these considerations he neglected her in his turn; and when he discovered the intercourse between her and Rochester, which became every day more and more notorious, he relinquished her intirely, as an abandoned woman unworthy of his affection.

She is divorced from her husband.

The countess, not satisfied with being the mistress, eagerly wished to be the wife of Rochester, to whom she communicated her sentiments on this subject; not doubting but that, by his influence with the king, she could procure a divorce from her husband. When Rochester imparted this scheme to Sir Thomas Overbury, that faithful counsellor argued with great vehemence against such an expedient, which he said would be attended with infamy and disgrace. The countess being apprised of his opposition, marked him out as a sacrifice to her resentment; and, as the favourite was by this time infatuated by her charms, engaged him in a plan for the destruction of Overbury. He told the king that Sir Thomas was become insolent and unruly; and desired that he might be sent ambassador to Muscovy. Then he persuaded Overbury to refuse the office, assuring him he would obtain something more advantageous as soon as the king's resentment should be blown over. The unhappy victim, trusting to these assurances, declined accepting the office which the king proposed; and Rochester expatiating on his refusal as a mark of insolence and disrespect to his majesty,

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an order was granted for committing him prisoner to the Tower, the lieutenancy of which had been lately bestowed upon Sir Gervase Elwaies, one of the favourite's creatures. The troublesome counsellor being thus removed and sequestered from all intercourse with his friends and acquaintance, the earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, solicited the king in behalf of his niece, who demanded a divorce on account of her husband's impotence. James, pleased with an opportunity to oblige his favourite, granted a commission under the great seal to the bishops and judges, empowering them to hear and determine the affair. A jury of matrons was impanelled to inspect the countess, and they reported her a virgin. In consideration of her modesty, she obtained permission to appear before them in a veil, and is said to have substituted in her place a young woman of her own shape and stature. The earl of Essex being examined by the commissioners, declared that he had never performed the rites of matrimony; nor did he believe he should ever be able to converse with her as a wife, though he did not find the same difficulties with other women. The report of the matrons, corroborated by this confession, induced the judges to declare the marriage a nullity. Bilson bishop of Winchester having strenuously contended for this dissolution, his son was knighted by the interest of Rochester, and ever after distinguished in derision by the name of Sir Nullity Bilson.

In a few weeks after this decision, the favourite was created earl of Somerset, and his marriage with the countess solemnized in the most ostentatious manner. Nothing was now wanting to their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be satisfied. They had already practised upon his life with slow poison, administered by one Weston, recommended

Death of Sir
Thomas
Overbury
in the
Tower.

A. C. 1613. ed by Mrs. Turner as a proper instrument for this purpose: he attended the prisoner as a domestic, and the poison was compounded by another miscreant called Franklin, an apothecary. Overbury finding his health considerably impaired, and guessing the cause of his indisposition, wrote a pathetic letter to Somerset, imploring his mediation with the king, that he might be restored to liberty; and the earl assured him that in a few days he should be released from his confinement. The accomplices redoubled their efforts; but the effects of what they administered proving less violent than they expected, Weston and Franklin are said to have stifled him with the bed-cloaths. He was immediately interred, on pretence that the smell of the body was intolerably offensive; and the earl of Northampton, in a letter to Somerset, intimating his decease, declared that he died of the venereal distemper, which had proceeded to such a degree of inveteracy, that his whole body was covered with loathsome ulcers. These, in fact, were the efforts of a vigorous constitution, to discharge the poison which this unfortunate gentleman had received.

Wilson.
Coke.
Weldon.

A. C. 1614.
The earl of
Northampton is disgraced.

Northampton was privy to every circumstance of this barbarous assassination, and succeeded Overbury as the counsellor of Somerset. He was a Roman catholic in his heart, and being warden of the Cinque-Ports, persons of that religion were admitted into the kingdom without examination; so that England was in a little time filled with popish priests and jesuits. The people began to murmur; and the earl of Northampton being accused as the cause of this grievance, prosecuted several persons on the writ of Scandalum Magnatum. In the midst of these prosecutions the archbishop produced a letter, written by the earl to cardinal Bellarmine, declaring himself a zealous catholic, wholly devoted to the see of Rome. The king reproached

ed him bitterly for this instance of his dissimulation, and he retired to his country-house, where, in a few weeks, he died a professed papist. The Roman catholics, however, did not sustain so many mortifications as were devised against the presbyterians, great numbers of whom quitted their native country, and settled in New-England, which soon became a flourishing colony; though they were not permitted to depart from Britain until they had given sufficient security for their good behaviour.

James was of such a profuse disposition, that no revenue could have been sufficient to exempt him from want and indigence*; therefore his minister's whole attention was employed in devising means for raising money without the sanction of parliament. He now had recourse to a scheme formed by the late earl of Salisbury; namely, the creation of baronets, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as an hereditary title. One hundred were invested with this new dignity, by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland: but this service was commuted for a sum of money. The king had recourse to other expedients for filling his empty coffers: he sold monopolies, revived the antient custom, by which every person possessing forty pounds a year in land, was obliged to receive the order of knighthood; and compounded with those who desired to be excused from an honour which they could not maintain. He created a certain

Creation of
baronets.

* Being one day in the gallery at Whitehall attended by Sir Henry Rich and James Maxwell, some porters happened to pass, loaded with money for the privy-purse. The king, perceiving Rich whispering to Maxwell, insisted upon knowing what he had said; and being told that he expressed a wish

that he had so much money, he ordered the porters to carry the whole sum, amounting to three thousand pounds, to his lodgings, saying, he had more pleasure in giving, than the other could possibly have in receiving his bounty.

Wilson.

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A. C. 1614. number of knights of Nova Scotia, who likewise purchased this distinction. The titles of earl, viscount, and baron, were set to sale at different prices, in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Those who had defective titles, were obliged to pay for a confirmation, and the Star-chamber imposed excessive fines for the use of his majesty.

New parliament quickly dissolved.

Even all these channels were unable to supply the waste of the king's prodigality; so that the favourite and his father-in-law the earl of Suffolk persuaded him to convoke a new parliament, with assurances that they would take care to return a majority of the commons, that should be at his devotion. This promise, however, they were not able to perform. The parliament meeting on the first day of April, the king demanded an aid on account of his daughter's marriage, giving them to understand, that they should be afterwards allowed to examine into the grievances of the nation. Instead of complying with his request, they began by enquiring in what manner the crown revenues had been expended; and found that his majesty had made excessive donations to his own countrymen, not only in money, but in lands, which they had sold to the English, remitting the money to Scotland, an insatiable gulph, from which it never returned. Then they examined into the cause of the surprising increase of popish recusants, which they imputed, first, to the king's admitting popish lords into his council; and, secondly, to the negotiations which had been set on foot for the marriage of the king's sons with the daughters of popish princes. They next deliberated upon the monopolies which were prejudicial to commerce; and the extraordinary means which had been used to raise money without the intervention of parliament: finally, they resolved to present an address, beseech-

befeeching his majesty to redress these grievances; A.C. 1614. and, in particular, to hinder his Scottish subjects from making any future settlements in England. James was so incensed at their rough manner of proceeding, that he dissolved the parliament before it had enacted one statute; and ordered some of the members to be imprisoned, for having spoken too freely of him and his prerogative.

The parliament having proved so unpropitious, King of Denmark arrives in England. the court could devise no other feasible scheme for relieving the king in his necessity, but that of a Benevolence, which was immediately put in execution. All the sheriffs of the kingdom were ordered by an act of council to levy a sum under this title, from the individuals of their different districts; and to send up to court a list of those who should either refuse to contribute, or bestow a present inadequate to their circumstances. Even this contrivance did not answer the king's expectation. It produced very little money, and a great deal of clamour. Yet the supply, inconsiderable as it was, came very seasonably for the reception of the Danish monarch, who made a second visit to his sister, and was entertained for fifteen days with an uninterrupted succession of feasting and diversions. After his departure, an ambassador arrived from the czar of Muscovy, to desire the king's mediation in a quarrel between him and the king of Sweden.

Coke.
Wilson.

Annals of
James.

The earl of Somerset possessed the king's affection so intirely, that the queen is said to have become jealous of this favourite. Whether this was the real cause of her aversion, or she suspected him of having been concerned in the death of her eldest son prince Henry, she certainly hated him with an uncommon degree of rancour, and resolved if possible to effect his ruin. For this purpose she interested in her resentment Sir Ralph Winwood, who enjoyed the title of secretary of state, though all

James captivated by George Villiers, whom he retains at court.

A. C. 1614. all the functions of the office were performed by the express direction of Somerset. The king, in his winter progress, passing through Cambridge, was entertained by the students with a comedy intitled Ignoramus, composed with a view to ridicule the common law and lawyers of England; a subject extremely agreeable to James, who detested all laws which the people had any hand in framing. The earls of Pembroke, Bedford, and some other noblemen, who were enemies to Somerset, either presuming upon the king's levity of disposition, or perceiving some marks of abatement in his affection for that favourite, determined to display a new lure for his fancy; and for this purpose pitched upon George Villiers, second son of Sir Edward Villiers, a gentleman of Leicestershire. George was just turned of twenty, and possessed of all those exterior graces by which the weak mind of James was so liable to be captivated. He had lately returned from France, with all the personal accomplishments which could be acquired in that country; and being gorgeously appareled for the purpose, was placed at the comedy, in such a manner that he could not fail to attract the king's notice. James no sooner beheld this gaudy figure, than he exhibited marks of admiration; and retained him in the court as one of his cup-bearers.

The queen
recommends
him to his
majesty's
favour.

Somerset was too jealous of his influence to look upon this new comer with unconcern. By his office of chamberlain he exercised authority over all the cup-bearers; and subjected Villiers to continual mortifications. Nevertheless, that young competitor deprived him every day of a new share of the king's favour. The enemies of Somerset nursed the king's growing inclination for Villiers with extravagant encomiums upon the beauty, virtue, and accomplishments of this minion. Somerset was like a mistress in the wane of her charms:
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the king was cloyed with possession. He began to be disgusted with the change in this nobleman's appearance and disposition. Since his marriage he was become melancholy, and seemed to feel the poignant stings of conscience: he neglected the ornaments of his person: his vivacity vanished: he no longer mingled in the fooleries that were daily practised in the king's anti-chamber; and he began to exhibit marks of avarice, than which nothing was more despicable in the eyes of his sovereign. James had declared, that he would have no favourite but such as should be recommended by the queen: that in case she should complain of him in the sequel, he might have it in his power to say he had favoured him at her own express desire. Abbot archbishop of Canterbury besought her to recommend Villiers; and at first she flatly refused to comply with his request, observing, that should he be received on the footing of a favourite, the king would soon teach him to despise those who recommended him; that he might be the more attached to his majesty's own person: but, by dint of importunity, she was at length prevailed upon to use her influence with the king in his behalf. James, charmed with her request, immediately knighted Villiers, and appointed him one of the gentlemen of his chamber.

The court was immediately divided between the two favourites. Though the king still affected to treat Somerset with marks of particular consideration, every body perceived a constraint in this complacency; and Villiers, by his affability, deprived his rival every day of some considerable adherent. Somerset, perceiving his progress, thought it high time to screen himself from the machinations of his enemies; and throwing himself at the king's feet, supplicated a general pardon, that his foes might not be able to take advantage of any error or offence.

The interest
of Somerset
declines.

NUMB. LXII.

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A.C. 1615. he might have committed during his administration, through frailty or ignorance. James, forthwith granted his request, and ordering an ample pardon to be expedited, signed it with his own hand. But the chancellor refused to give it the sanction of the great seal: alledging that it was a pardon not only for all the treasons, felonies, and murders, which Somerset might have already committed, but also for all those of which he might be guilty in the sequel. Another pardon couched in proper terms might have been easily drawn up; but whether the queen opposed it, or the earl of Somerset thought it impolitic to give the world any further reason to believe he stood in need of such an amnesty, no such pardon was ever obtained.

He rejects
the advances
of Villiers.

Upon the king's return to Royston from his summer progress, the train was laid for the destruction of this favourite. The apothecary's servant who had compounded a poisonous clyster for the unhappy Overbury, having retired to the Low-Countries, discovered this and other circumstances to Trumbull the king's envoy at Brussels, who communicated this intelligence to Sir Ralph Winwood; and the king being made acquainted with the whole affair, commanded them both to keep it secret, until they should receive further orders. In all probability he would have let it rest in oblivion, had not Somerset's indiscretion compelled him to take other measures. The peace of his court was now every day invaded by the quarrels and disputes of the two favourites and their dependents. He expressed a desire that they should live together in friendship. He ordered Villiers to solicit Somerset's protection. The young knight accordingly visited the earl at his own house, where he told him he was come to desire that he might be admitted into the number of his humble servants, protesting that he would serve him with the utmost fidelity,

fidelity, and depend upon him for his fortune and preferment. Somerset rejected all his advances, telling him he had no service for him; and that he would break his neck, should he ever find an opportunity of so doing.

The king was extremely incensed at this brutal reply, and from that moment destined Somerset to infamy and ruin. While he resided at Royston he sent a messenger to lord chief justice Coke, with a letter, desiring him to issue warrants for apprehending the earl of Somerset and his countess, Sir Gervase Elwaies lieutenant of the Tower, Mrs. Turner, Weston, and Franklin, the accomplices in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. When the officer came to serve the warrant upon the earl at Royston, he found him on the point of setting out for London: the king hung about his neck, asking, in the most affectionate tone, when he should see him again. Somerset being made acquainted with the purport of the warrant, exclaimed in a furious strain against the insolence of the officer who presumed to arrest a peer of the realm in the king's presence; but James being informed of the transaction, said, with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go; for if Coke should send for me, I must comply." Then he accompanied him to the stair-case, embraced him at parting, begging he would return immediately, inasmuch as he could not live without his company. Yet he no sooner turned his back than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee: I shall never see thy face again." Somerset and his countess were committed to the Tower, and all the other accomplices to different prisons; and next day judge Coke repairing to Royston, the king commanded him to examine the affair with the utmost impartiality, wishing that the curse of God might fall upon him and his family should he spare the

Is committed
prisoner
to the
Tower.

A.C. 1616. Lewis, or with the infanta Maria. The French lady was already betrothed to the prince of Piedmont: but the other scheme afforded a more agreeable prospect of success. The duke of Lennox, Philip's prime minister, had already made an overture concerning the match, to Digby the English envoy at Madrid; and the count de Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at London, was empowered to treat with the king on this subject. This was supposed to be a stratagem of the court of Spain, to interrupt the good understanding that subsisted between the English and Dutch; and Charlston, the king's ambassador at the Hague, gave his master to understand, that the Spaniards had for this purpose circulated a report that the negotiation for the marriage was far advanced. In effect, Philip's aim was to amuse James with this treaty, in such a manner that he should not join against him in the war of Cleves; but in the sequel, he was influenced by a more important motive. The vanity of the English monarch was so agreeably flattered with the prospect of this alliance, that he could not help manifesting the utmost eagerness to see it brought to perfection; and Gondomar, who was perfectly well acquainted with his disposition, managed this desire to such advantage, that for several years James acted in every thing according to his direction, rather than run the risque of seeing the match frustrated, by giving offence to the court of Spain.

His impolitic conduct and profusion.

Such were the politics of that prince, who was denominated the Solomon of the age. He saw without emotion the efforts of the court of France in suppressing the protestants of that kingdom; he beheld with unconcern the house of Austria forming projects for enslaving all Europe; and, on pretence of indulging his people with the blessings of peace, he neglected every political concern of the nation.

nation. Nor did his conduct at home redound A. C. 1616. more to the credit of his discretion. He squandered away immense sums; and alienated almost all the crown-lands, to enrich a few worthless favourites. The earl of Somerset had, in five years, amassed two hundred thousand pounds in money, jewels, and plate; besides eighteen thousand pounds a year in landed estate. The earl of Salisbury, though a younger brother, had left a large fortune. Northampton had built an expensive palace in London, since known by the name of Northumberland-house; and bequeathed a great inheritance to his nephew the earl of Arundel. Suffolk, another brother of the duke of Norfolk, had expended two hundred thousand pounds in an edifice called Audley-Inn in the county of Hertford. The duke of Lennox, the earl of Dunbar, and the lord Hay, had remitted vast sums into Scotland; and Sir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, Wilson, Coke. accumulated an immense estate.

All the sources of this profusion were now dried up, and the king was bent upon enriching his new favourite. The states of Holland knowing his situation, and afraid of their cautionary towns, which he might be prevailed upon to deliver into the hands of Spain, in order to promote his son's marriage, seized this opportunity to re-obtain possession of those places; and, at the same time, compound for the debt which they owed to the crown of England. They began by abating their punctuality in paying the English garrisons; and these complained to the king, who was in no condition to provide for their subsistence. When he sent remonstrances to the states on this subject, they expatiated upon the bad situation of their affairs, occasioned by the vast expences of the war. Caron, their envoy in England, insinuated to the ministry, that if the king would consent to restore the cautionary

He delivers up the cautionary towns to the Dutch,

A. C. 1616. tionary towns, he believed the states would endeavour to raise money by borrowing at high interest, in order to satisfy him with respect to the debt they owed. This was a temptation which James and his courtiers could not withstand. He forthwith wrote to the states on this subject; the pensionary Barneveldt was sent over to manage the negotiation at the court of London, where he acted his part with such dexterity, that James accepted of one third of the sum which was due; and delivered up the cautionary towns which had been pledged to queen Elizabeth.

The earl of
Suffolk is
disgraced.

This money no sooner appeared than it vanished in an unaccountable manner. The king paid no creditor; the fleet was ruined for want of repair; and not one farthing was sent to the troops in Ireland, which for several years had received no regular subsistence. The earl of Suffolk lord-treasurer had embezzled a considerable part of the supply; and Villiers the new favourite would not let slip this opportunity of ruining the father-in-law of Somerset. He was accused in the Star-chamber of divers malversations; in the exercise of his office; and being found guilty, condemned to pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The office of treasurer was put in commission; and secretary Winwood dying about the same time, his place was divided between Naunton and Calvert, the first of whom was a protestant, and the other a papist. Villiers was by this time created viscount of Waddon, and earl of Buckingham: he was afterwards raised to the titles of marquis and duke of Buckingham, installed knight of the garter, appointed master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the Cinque-ports, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England. In the beginning of the succeeding year, Marc An-

tonio

tonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato in Dal-
matia, arrived in England as a convert to the pro-
testant religion. He preached and wrote against
the doctrines of the Roman church; and was ap-
pointed dean of Windsor, and master of the Savoy.
After having resided some years in England, he
was seduced by count Gondermar, with the promise
of a cardinal's hat, to go and make a public re-
cantation at Rome. He accordingly went to Rome,
and abjured the protestant religion; but, instead
of being promoted, he was confined in a dungeon
of the inquisition, where he died; and his body
was burned in public.

Willon.

The king
visits his
ancient
kingdom of
Scotland.

James, from his accession to the throne of Eng-
land, had formed the scheme of reducing the Scot-
tish clergy to a conformity with the English
church. He had sent the following articles to be
inserted in their canons: That they should receive
the communion kneeling: That the sacrament
should be administered in private to sick persons:
That they should keep the festivals of Christmas,
Easter, Ascension, and Whitsuntide; and, That
children of a certain age should be confirmed by
the bishops. These articles being rejected by the
general assembly, as the preliminaries of more
important alterations, the king was incensed at
their obstinacy; and resolved to visit his Scottish
dominions, that he might in person compel them
to obedience. The Scottish bishops retained no-
thing but the name of that dignity; for the whole
ecclesiastical power was lodged in the general as-
sembly of the ministers. James was bent upon re-
storing episcopacy to its former lustre and autho-
rity; but he did not consider that the revenues
which had maintained that splendor arose from
estates which were now possessed by lay noblemen,
who would not easily part with their acquisitions.
Besides, the people in general were puritanical,
and

A. C. 1617. and the spirit of fanaticism prevailed over the whole nation. The king, before his departure from London, issued a proclamation, importing his design of visiting his antient kingdom, that he might reform certain abuses which had crept into the church and state of that country. Then he sent some officers of his household to Edinburgh, directing them to adorn his chapel with pictures and statues, which gave great offence to his Scottish subjects.

Is thwarted
by the pres-
byterian
clergy of
that coun-
try.

He himself opened the parliament of Scotland with a long harangue, in which he recommended the establishment of regular civil polity, the abolition of all barbarous customs, promised to protect the innocent, and threatened to punish the guilty. He desired they would appoint commissioners to regulate the affairs of religion; and the parliament assenting to his proposal, he himself nominated them from the number of his own creatures. He insisted upon their establishing the following article, That every thing ordained by the king and his bishops, touching the exterior government of the church, should have the force of an ecclesiastical law, to which every person should submit. The ministers immediately took the alarm, protesting against this article; and the whole nation was in a ferment. James, disconcerted by this opposition, desired the clergy would attend him at St. Andrew's, where he told them he was determined to be obeyed; and they, intimidated by his menaces, besought him to convoke a general assembly, that his proposals might be unanimously accepted. With great reluctance he consented to this expedient. In the mean time, Simpson, who had drawn up and signed the protest, was imprisoned; and Catherwood, who had dispersed copies of it, was banished the kingdom. After James had set out on his return to England, the general

general assembly meeting at St. Andrew's resolved A.C. 1617. to delay their acception of the four articles, until all the churches of the kingdom could be informed of the affair; and then the session broke up. The king, exasperated at this contempt of his authority, ordered all their stipends to be arrested; but, finding this measure served only to irritate the minds of his Scottish subjects, he allowed them to hold another assembly at Perth, where they were at length prevailed upon to receive his four articles; though this imposition sowed the seeds of those troubles Spottiswood. which afterwards ruined his son and successor.

During the king's journey from Scotland to London, he was presented with a petition by a He publishes the book of Sports. great number of peasants, tradesmen, and servants, requesting, that they might as usual be allowed to take their diversions on Sundays, after divine service. James, being persuaded, that those were puritans who forbade such diversions; and that they were Jewishly inclined, because they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath, resolved to re-establish the vulgar in the privileges which they had lost. He published a performance, intitled, The book of Sports, recommending all diversions after sermon. He ordered it to be read publicly in all churches; and such ministers as refused to obey this injunction, were severely punished by the court of high commission. Whatever his motives might have been for enforcing this practice, it was not a bad preservative against the desperate effects of gloomy fanaticism, which had already taken full possession of one kingdom, and made considerable progress in the other.

This year was rendered remarkable for the last expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, which produced loud murmurs against the government. Though he was odious to the nation when the king committed him to the Tower, the hatred of the people

Expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh,

A. C. 1617. ple was softened by his long confinement; and their admiration excited by the surprising vigour of his faculties, manifested in his history of the world, which had been lately published; a work composed in prison, where he laboured under every species of distress that could dispirit or disconcert the human mind. At length he was released, tho' without a pardon; and his estate having been forfeited, he formed a scheme for acquiring a new fortune in America. He gave the king to understand, that he had, in the course of his former expeditions, found a rich gold mine in Guiana, which was uninhabited by any European nation; and he obtained a commission, empowering him to make a settlement on the place. Several wealthy adventurers engaged in this project, for the purposes of which twelve vessels were equipped; and he took his departure from England in the month of August. When he arrived at the mouth of the river Oroonoko, he detached five vessels, under the command of his son, and captain Keymis, to sail up the stream in quest of the mine; and they making a descent near a small town called St. Thomas, lately built by the Spaniards, met with some opposition; in spite of which, they took and plundered the place, though young Raleigh was killed in the action. No mine, however, could they find, nor the least appearance of ore. Raleigh, chagrined at the loss of his son, and their failure in search of the gold, which alone could reconcile the king to the hostilities they had committed against the Spaniards, is said to have threatened Keymis with his majesty's indignation, for having first deceived Raleigh in his description of the mine; and afterwards attacked the Spaniards without his order. Keymis, in order to avoid public punishment and disgrace, made away with himself. A grievous mortality prevailed among the people: the

the sailors loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed to a chimerical project, and compelled Raleigh to set sail for England. He was obliged by contrary winds to put in at Kinsale in Ireland, where he endeavoured to persuade them to follow his fortunes in France; but, they were deaf to all his arguments and intreaties; he then directed his course to Plymouth, where he was immediately arrested by the king's order, and, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, reconveyed to the Tower of London.

In his absence the count de Gondemar made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared, that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all dispute and hostilities with the Spaniards. The ambassador, therefore, demanded that he should be punished; otherwise the negotiation for the prince's marriage would miscarry. James was not only intimidated by this declaration, but also incensed against Raleigh, who had returned without the treasure, even after having embroiled him with the court of Spain. He believed the scheme was an imposition from the beginning; and that Raleigh's real design was to plunder the Spanish settlements; never doubting that he should be able to persuade the sailors into these measures. The king, on these considerations, resolved that his former sentence should be executed. The case was argued in the court of King's-bench, where Raleigh pleaded his commission, which he said implied a pardon, inasmuch as it invested him with the power of life and death over those whom he commanded. The lord chief justice replied, that treason should not be pardoned except in express terms; and ordered him to be executed next morning, when he was accordingly beheaded on a scaffold erected on the Old-palace-yard at Westminster. He had formerly practised low shifts, and even

who is beheaded.

Coke, Willson.

A. C. 1617. even feigned madness; to save his life. But now he collected all his fortitude, and died with uncommon courage and composure. He was certainly a man of admirable talents; but turbulent, rash, and presumptuous. He had maintained a literary correspondence with prince Henry, who admired his character; and, at the queen's request, sent some of the cordial known by his name, to her son in his last illness, affirming, that it was an infallible cure for fevers, except where poison had been administered. This ridiculous asseveration made such an impression upon her mind, that when the prince died, she could not help believing some sinister means had been practised against his life. Raleigh had formerly done great mischief to the Spaniards in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and, in divers memorials since his confinement, dissuaded James from any alliance with that people. No wonder then that Gondemar should exert all his influence for the destruction of such an enemy to his nation. On the whole, it must be owned, that Raleigh seems to have undertaken his last voyage with a piratical intention; and that he was capable of imposture, appears from his treatise, intitled, The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana: an empire which never existed but in his own fancy and description.

A. C. 1618.

Mutual disgust between the king and his people.

The people were loud in their clamours at the death of this gallant captain. Indeed, by this time, the king was become the object of universal contempt. The nation complained, that the administration was in the hands of a stripling, who had not only engrossed unmerited honours for himself, but promoted his numerous kindred to the most profitable places in the kingdom; tho' many of them were papists, and his own mother openly professed the catholic religion. They observed, That the states of Holland had sent a fleet of fisher-
men

men on the coast of Britain, without asking the king's permission; but, on the contrary, had supplied them with a squadron for their defence, as if they meant to brave the nation: That the court was become a scene of debauchery, where nothing was heard but curses, blasphemy, and impure discourse. That the number of papists were surprisingly increased: That the king's eagerness for the marriage of his son with a daughter of Spain too plainly denoted his bias towards the Roman catholic church: That the prerogative of the crown was extended to the oppression of the people in the decisions of the high commission-court and Star-chamber; in granting monopolies prejudicial to commerce; imprisoning members of the house of commons contrary to law; and in levying money without consent of parliament. On the other hand, the king was no less dissatisfied with his people for pretending to censure his government; and he conceived a remarkable antipathy to parliaments, which he considered as an insolent check upon the kingly prerogative. He consoled himself, however, for the censures of his subjects, with the agreeable prospect of the match, and the promise of receiving a very large sum as the infanta's portion.

The negotiation had already been spun out for two years by the Spanish ministry, on pretence of regulating the affair of religion; but now the court of Madrid, fearing that James would begin to doubt their good faith, agreed with Digby and Gorington, the two English ambassadors, to five articles, the first of which imported, That the pope's dispensation should be obtained by the sole solicitation of his most catholic majesty. The rest related to the education of the children of the marriage, and the regulation of the infanta's chapel. These were approved and signed by James: but still

James is amused by the king of Spain.

A. G. 1658. still he was at a great distance from the accomplishment of his wish. The succession of Cleves, which was the first motive of Philip's dissimulation, was now settled; but the affairs of Germany took such a turn as was likely to produce a war of religion; and therefore the house of Austria continued to amuse James with the marriage, lest he should espouse the cause of the protestants in Bohemia.

The states
of Bohemia
rebel against
the emperor.

The emperor Matthias having adopted his nephew Ferdinand of Austria, resolved to raise him to the throne of Bohemia. But as he expected opposition from the protestant incorporated countries of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, he forbore summoning their deputies, when he convoked the states of Bohemia; and Ferdinand was crowned at Prague by the catholic interest. The states including the protestant deputies, were afterwards convoked by the defenders, a certain number of persons chosen and appointed to enforce the execution of edicts; and this assembly having presented a petition to the emperor, demanding the execution of the laws of the kingdom, and a reparation for the injuries they had sustained, adjourned itself to another day. The emperor, instead of answering their petition, ordered his lieutenant in Bohemia to prevent the next meeting of the states, which had been convoked without his permission; but the deputies, instead of obeying his command, repaired to the chancery, threw three of the emperor's officers out of the window, and expelled the jesuits from the city. Then they published an apology for their conduct; and engaged in an association for their mutual defence. Upon advice of the emperor's preparing to attack them, they chose four and twenty protectors, whom they empowered to levy troops, and impose taxes for the maintenance of the war. The cardinal infant prepared an army in the Low-Countries for the service
of

of the emperor, who bestowed the command of it upon Charles de Bucquoy count de Longueville, while the states pitched upon the counts de Mansfeldt and De la Tour for their generals. On this eve of a bloody war, no wonder that the king of Spain was interested in behalf of the younger branch of the house of Austria, and used all his artifice in dissuading the king of England from declaring in favour of the German protestants. Count Gondemar set out for Spain, with the articles signed by James; and, though he loitered so much time in his voyage, as plainly demonstrated, that his design was to protract the negotiation, the king still continued to believe in his sincerity.

Hist. de la
Rebellion
de Boheme.

In the month of March the queen died, in the forty-sixth year of her age; and James himself was seized with a dangerous malady that brought him to the brink of the grave. The emperor Matthias dying about the same time, his nephew Ferdinand caused himself to be proclaimed king of Bohemia; but as he had no occasion for the interest of the protestant electors to raise him to the imperial throne, ~~he expressed~~ a desire of terminating the war which had already begun, by offering satisfaction to the states of Bohemia, with regard to their privileges. James, who piqued himself upon the title of the Pacific king; sent the lord Hay, lately created viscount Doncaster, to mediate a pacification in the empire: but Ferdinand would scarce favour him with an audience; and the embassy produced no effect. . . The elector of Mentz summoning Ferdinand as king of Bohemia, to the election of an emperor, the states of that kingdom protested against the citation, as Ferdinand was not in possession of the throne. But, notwithstanding their opposition, he was acknowledged king of Bohemia at the diet; and elected emperor in the month of August. Then

A. C. 1619.
The Bohemians chuse Frederick elector palatine their king.

A. C. 1619. the states took an oath that they would never own him as their sovereign ; and chose Frederick elector palatine their king. That prince accepted their offer without hesitation ; dispatched the baron D'Aulna to solicit the advice of his father-in-law the king of England. But this was no more than a simple compliment ; for, without waiting his answer, he assembled a body of troops ; and repairing to Prague, was there crowned on the fourth day of November.

James dis-
avows the
conduct of
his son-in-
law.

Before the arrival of Frederick's envoy, James hearing of his election, assembled his council to deliberate upon the subject ; and they were of opinion, that the king should exhort his son-in-law to refuse the crown of Bohemia. They were influenced by the sentiments of the king, who considered the conduct of the states as rebellious and puritanical ; and dreaded that Frederick's opposition to the house of Austria might prejudice the darling match of his son, and the projected alliance between the kings of England and Spain. James was so incensed against the elector, when he heard he had accepted the crown, that he refused to grant an audience to his envoy : by his ambassadors in foreign courts, he disavowed the step which his son-in-law had taken, and even refused to honour him with the kingly title. He attempted to persuade him to renounce the crown, and influence the states of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. With this view he sent two ambassadors to Prague, but his admonitions were of no signification. Mean while the court of Madrid did not fail to encourage James in his pacific disposition. There the whole conversation turned upon the justice, generosity, and moderation of the English monarch. The negotiation for the marriage, which had been interrupted on account of the pope's hesitating to grant

grant a dispensation, was now resumed; and Cot-
 tington was given to understand, that should it be
 much longer delayed, they would either conclude
 the marriage without it, or fall upon means to ex-
 tort the pope's compliance. That minister did not
 fall into the snare. Being well acquainted with the
 views and sentiments of Philip, he exhorted his
 majesty to break off the negotiation, assuring him
 the design of the court of Spain was to amuse him
 with vain pretences. James was of another opi-
 nion: he ordered Cottington to declare to the king
 of Spain, that he had no share in the affair of Bohe-
 mia; that the elector had acted without his know-
 ledge; and that he disapproved of his conduct in
 accepting the crown.

While Ferdinand and Frederick were employed
 in forming alliances, and making preparations for
 war, James adhered to a neutrality, not without
 hope of being chosen arbitrator of the difference;
 but, both parties suspected him of partiality, and
 resolved to decide the quarrel by force of arms.
 Frederick's affairs at first wore a promising aspect.
 Several princes of Germany engaged in a league
 for his support; Bethlem Gabor prince of Transyl-
 vania excited the Hungarians to revolt against Fer-
 dinand; and the greatest part of Austria had fol-
 lowed their example. The elector of Saxony had
 embraced a neutrality; but the emperor gained
 him over by ceding to him the conquest of Upper
 Lusatia. The duke of Bavaria, and the three ec-
 clesiastic electors declared for Ferdinand; the pope
 supplied him with a sum of money, and the king
 of Spain sent to his assistance those troops which
 were in Naples and the dutchy of Milan. Gonde-
 mar was sent back to London, on pretence of put-
 ting the last hand to the marriage, though, in rea-
 lity, to maintain the delusion. That artful mini-
 ster, by means of his insinuating manners, and a

A. C. 1619.

Great in-
fluence of
Gondemar
at the Eng-
lish court.Annals of
K. James I.

A. C. 1620. large sum of money judiciously distributed, soon gained the ascendancy over the king, the favourite, and the ministers ; so that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom.

A small
body of Eng-
lish troops
engage in
the service
of the elec-
tor Palatine.

Frederick having marched into Bohemia with ten thousand of the Palatine troops, the archduke Albert levied an army of thirty thousand men in the Low-Countries, in order to attack the Palatinate. The Dutch communicated the design of this armament to the court of London ; but James, instead of taking effectual methods for the preservation of his daughter and her family, contented himself with ordering Edmonds his ambassador at Brussels, to demand the meaning of these levies. The archduke replied, that the troops were raised by the express order of the Spanish king ; and that perhaps he might learn their destination from Spinola, who was appointed general of the expedition. This officer being interrogated on the same subject, pretended ignorance, alledging his orders were sealed, and that he could not open them until the troops should be upon the march ; but, he told the ambassador that if he would accompany him in his route, he might soon be informed. The design was so palpable, that the people of England began to exclaim against the king's indolence and insensibility. Nevertheless, he still persisted in his scheme of neutrality ; and the nation was certainly obliged to him for preventing their being involved in a war, which would have not only consumed their treasures, but also deprived them of an advantageous commerce with the Spaniards both in Europe and America. His forbearance, however, was owing to other reflections. By dint of solicitations, he was prevailed upon to allow one regiment of two thousand four hundred men, to be raised for the service of the elector Palatine. It was commanded by Horatio Vere, who had served with reputation

putation in Holland; and the earls of Oxford and Essex acted as captains to two companies of volunteers. They were transported to Holland, passed the Rhine below the Wezel, were escorted to Franckfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Nassau; and on the first day of October, joined the army of the Palatine's allies, conducted by the margrave of Anspach.

A. C. 1620.

Wilson.

By this time Spinola had reached the Palatinate, where he made himself master of some inconsiderable places; but, the season being far advanced, both armies soon retired into winter-quarters. In the beginning of this year, the French king had sent the dukes of Angoulême and Bethune, with Mr. Despreaux to the princes of Germany, to assist in appeasing the troubles of Hungary and Bohemia. James of England had likewise dispatched Sir Edward Wotton to Germany, with the same design; and after he had visited the princes separately, he arrived at Vienna, where he presented some proposals, in the name of his master, to which Ferdinand payed no regard. Frederick elector Palatine was now put under the ban of the empire. The elector of Saxony entered Lusatia, which he subdued. The duke of Bavaria joining the count de Bucquoy the imperial general in Bohemia, they advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Palatine was posted. A battle immediately ensued; and Frederick being totally defeated, fled with his wife and family to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialists. The Palatine was abandoned by almost all his allies. Even his general the prince of Anhalt, engaged in the emperor's service; tho' count Mansfeldt still preserved his fidelity. In the course of this year, the protestants of France being oppressed by Lewis XIII. James sent Edward Herbert to intercede with him in their favour, and

Who is totally defeated.

A. C. 1620

even to employ menaces, should no regard be paid to his remonstrance. The ambassador executed his commission in such a manner as gave offence to the constable de Luines, who complained of his arrogance to the king, and he was recalled. He afterwards begged his majesty's permission to challenge the constable to single combat for having belied him; but James refused his request, and sent in his room the viscount of Doncaster, lately created earl of Carlisle, who expended great sums of money to very little purpose; for the Huguenots reaped no benefit from his solicitations.

James convokes a parliament.

The campaign of the Palatinate was no sooner ended, than the earl of Essex returned to England, and assured the king, that, without powerful and speedy succours, that country would fall into the hands of the enemy. Whether James was alarmed at this intelligence, or desirous of using this pretext for raising money, he declared to count Gondemar, that he would not stand tamely, and see his grandchildren deprived of their inheritance; and demanded a benevolence of his subjects for the defence of the Palatinate. This expedient did not succeed according to his expectation; and the people continuing to blame his indolence and indifference for the protestant interest, he convoked a parliament.

Rushworth.

With a view to persuade the nation that he was determined to pursue vigorous measures, he convened a number of noblemen and officers of reputation, to deliberate upon the most effectual means to prosecute the war; and, in order to prevent the reproaches and obloquy of his subjects, he issued a proclamation, forbidding them to discourse of state affairs.

Prosecution of Sir Giles Montpeyson and Francis Michel.

James, without all question, wished to preserve the Palatinate to his son-in-law; but his weakness was cajoled in such a manner by Gondemar, that he believed no expedient would be so effectual for

that

that purpose, as the match of his son with the infant of Spain; and that this scheme would miscarry should he attempt to take any other step in the elector's favour: besides, his aversion to war was insuperable. He resolved, however, to seem bent on vigorous measures, in hope that he should receive ample subsidies from the parliament, which met on the twentieth day of January. The king, as usual, made a long speech to both houses, explaining the duty of parliaments; expatiating on his own merit and necessities; and demanding supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his own son, should he miscarry in his endeavours to procure a reasonable pacification. The house of commons considering the urgency of the occasion, and being extremely incensed against the house of Austria, immediately granted two subsidies, with which the king was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licensing taverns and public houses; and granted to Sir Giles Montpeyson and Francis Michell an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of such scandalous fraud and oppression, that upon complaint to the upper-house, they were committed to prison; though Montpeyson, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to escape: but he was degraded from the dignity of knight; and his estate confiscated. The other was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting a-horseback with his face to the tail, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and be imprisoned for life.

A. C. 1621.

The king
endeavours
to cajole the
commons.

James perceiving with what eagerness the two houses proceeded against these delinquents, began to be afraid of his favourite Buckingham, who had been the author of those monopolies. He therefore went to the house of peers, and soothed the parliament with the most affectionate expressions; assuring them, upon the faith of a christian king, that if he had known of those grievances, he would have punished the authors of his own accord; and cautioning them against giving ear to those who should accuse the innocent instead of the guilty. They understood his meaning, and forbore to trace the enormity to its fountain. James afterwards understanding that the commons had impeached chancellor Bacon, lately created baron of Verulam and viscount of St. Alban's, he again harangued both houses, representing the necessity of punishing corrupted judges; and soliciting further subsidies, as the former supply granted by the commons was already expended for the subsistence of the Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He observed, that great sums would be requisite to defray the expence of extraordinary ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as for an army to march into the Palatinate, in case his negotiations should prove ineffectual; and, lastly, he protested before God, that he would not dissolve the parliament, until the affairs which were then under their consideration should be fully determined.

Lord chan-
cellor Bacon
disgraced.

The chancellor being committed to the Tower, and conscious of that corruption which was laid to his charge, presented a petition to the house of peers, confessing himself guilty, and requesting that he might not be exposed to the shame of a public trial. They insisted upon his owning every particular article of the impeachment; yet, notwithstanding this minute confession, he was deprived of his

his office of chancellor, and even rendered incapable of sitting in the upper-house of parliament, fined forty thousand pounds, and condemned to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. In consideration of his great genius, James remitted his fine, released him from prison, and favoured him with a very considerable pension, which enabled him to oblige the world with many literary productions of extraordinary merit. He retrieved the favour of his sovereign, by writing the panegyric of Henry VII. whose character James revered as the model of sagacity and king-craft, and whose conduct he endeavoured in vain to imitate. It was in this parliament that the two factions, known by the name of court and country party, began to proceed on a regular plan of opposition. The individuals of each stood up alternately to answer one another in both houses; and even the exercise of the prerogative was disputed with great freedom of altercation*.

A.C. 1621.
Wilson.
Rushworth.
Weldon.

The king perceiving that the commons would not grant another supply, until they should see whether or not he really intended to engage in a war, sent the treasurer to adjourn the parliament to the fourteenth day of November. The lower house looking upon this step as an encroachment on their privileges, desired a conference with the peers, that they might concert an address on the subject. James giving them to understand, that he would not suffer his prerogative to be the subject of dispute, the lords refused their concurrence; and the

Dispute between the king and house of commons.

* The lord Spenser talking freely of the government, thought proper to illustrate his arguments with examples from history. The earl of Arundel interrupting him, said, "When those things happened my lord, your ancestors were keeping sheep." "And yours (replied Spenser) were hatching

"treason." They were immediately ordered to retire; and, notwithstanding the court interest, the earl of Arundel, as the aggressor, was sent to the Tower, from whence he was not released until he had submitted to the orders of the house.

Wilson.

com-

A. C. 1621. commons protested that the king's resolution hindered them from finishing the work they had begun, for the benefit of the public. The king repairing to the house of peers, told them he would indulge them with a delay of ten days; and they, after a conference with the commons, demanded it for fifteen. He granted their request; but still insisted upon his right to dissolve, prorogue, and adjourn the parliament. The commons desisted from their pretensions; but, on the day of adjournment, drew up a declaration, importing, That they could not help interesting themselves in the invasion of the Palatinate, and the danger with which the protestant religion was threatened; and that they were ready to support the king with their whole power, in doing himself justice by force of arms, provided his negotiations should not meet with success.

Rushworth.

Death of
Philip III.
of Spain.

By this time, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had submitted to the emperor: the upper Palatinate was subdued by the duke of Bavaria. Spinola, after having made many conquests in the lower Palatinate, consented to a truce for five weeks; and the archduke ascribed this condescension to his regard for the king of England; though, in fact, he was obliged to recall his troops to the Low-Countries, because the truce of twelve years between Spain and Holland was expired; and he was glad of this cessation, during which the emperor might fill the place of those forces. This short truce being expired, the Spanish troops left under the command of Don Consalez de Cordova, being joined by a strong reinforcement, undertook the siege of Frankendahl, defended by some of the English forces under Vere; but he was obliged to raise the siege at the approach of Mansfeldt, who, in his turn, retired before count Tilly into Alsace. In the course of this year Philip III. of Spain dying, was

was succeeded by his son of the same name. Lewis XIII. of France having distressed the Huguenots, undertook the siege of Montauban; but the valour and obstinacy of the defendants obliged him to relinquish the enterprize.

The archduke, in order to divert James from any design of assisting the Dutch, now that hostilities were renewed between them and Spain, gave him to understand, that peace might be easily re-established in the empire, provided the palatine would offer a reasonable satisfaction to the emperor. He wrote in favour of Frederick to Ferdinand; and the letter was communicated to James, who firmly believed that, in consideration of him, the difference would be amicably determined. To this letter the emperor replied, That, by his great regard for the king of England, he was disposed to conclude a peace upon equitable terms with the palatine. The king of Spain declared to Ferdinand; that should he, according to report, bestow the upper Palatinate upon the duke of Bavaria; he must no longer expect the assistance of Spain. All these letters were imparted to James, or to his ambassadors, and served to confirm his opinion, that any appearance of distrust would ruin all his measures. In these sentiments he dispatched the lord Digby as his ambassador to Vienna, to demand of the emperor, that the imperial ban against the elector palatine should be revoked, or at least suspended; and that Frederick should be re-established in possession of his hereditary dominions; in which case the king would oblige him to make suitable satisfaction. Ferdinand still professed the utmost veneration for the king of Britain; declaring that all he desired was suitable satisfaction for the injuries he had received; but he observed, that he had undertaken the war with the advice and assistance of several princes, without whose consent he would

Fruitless negotiation with the emperor.

Du Chesne
Hist. d'Angleterre.

A. C. 1621. would not take any material resolution ; but he said he had convoked a diet at Ratifbon, the result of whose determinations he would impart to the king of England. The archduke dying at Brussels about this period, and his widow the infanta Isabella writing to Ferdinand in favour of the Palatine, Digby seized this opportunity of demanding a truce for the lower Palatinate : and the emperor promised to comply with his demand, provided the duke of Bavaria would consent to such a cessation ; he even advised Digby to go and negotiate the truce with that prince, and he found him in the upper Palatinate ; but, when he mentioned the cause of his coming, the duke told him the country was almost wholly subdued, and he would take care that in a very little time there should be no occasion for further hostilities. James being informed of this reply, complained to the emperor of the duke's having invaded the Palatinate ; and proposed that his son-in-law should renounce his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia, submit to the emperor, and implore his pardon on his knees : he at the same time declared, that if he could not obtain favour for his son-in-law by fair means, he would support him by force of arms. Ferdinand still resolved to amuse and deceive this weak prince, and sent the count de Schwartzinburg ambassador to London, on pretence of concerting the conditions of the truce.

The king demands a supply.

When Digby returned to England, the king re-assembled the parliament on the twentieth day of November, and sent the lord treasurer, accompanied by this ambassador, to signify his intentions to both houses. He told them, That since their adjournment, the king had, by his proclamations, redressed seven and thirty grievances, of which his people complained : That he had assembled his parliament on the promise which the commons had made

made to assist him powerfully for the recovery of the Palatinate : That he had done his utmost endeavours to procure a good peace, though they had not met with the desired success : That he had advanced forty thousand pounds for the payment of the troops employed in guarding the Palatinate ; but all his efforts would be fruitless, should the parliament proceed upon modern rather than upon antient principles. Then lord Digby recounted the particulars of his embassy ; adding, that a large sum of money was absolutely necessary to subsist the army commanded by the count de Mansfeldt, and to send a reinforcement of English troops into the Palatinate.

The commons having no faith in the king's sincerity, and being unwilling to grant subsidies which might be misapplied, drew up a remonstrance, imputing all the grievances of the kingdom, and all the dangers that threatened the protestant religion, in a great measure to the projected marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain : as well as to the encouragement and toleration of papists. As effectual remedies for these evils, they proposed that his majesty should declare war against that prince, whose arms and wealth had maintained the troubles in the Palatinate : that the laws should be put in execution against popish recusants : and that the prince of Wales should be married to some protestant princess. They likewise suggested other measures for preventing the growth of popery. They promised to grant an intire subsidy for the defence of the Palatinate ; in consideration of which they desired that he would give his royal assent to the bills that should be presented before the end of the session, and grant a general amnesty, which should imply a discharge of all that was due to the crown before his accession ; and extend to many other transgressions specified in the declaration. The king

Break between the king and commons.

A. C. 1622. king being informed of their proceedings, was shocked at this unprecedented remonstrance, which not only taxed him with insincerity, and attachment to the Romish religion, but also struck at the very root of his prerogative, in directing his conduct and administration. He then resided at Newmarket, from whence he sent a letter to the speaker, commanding the house to forbear meddling with the affairs of government, the marriage of his son, or the honour of his allies. He gave them to understand, that he was possessed of the right and power to punish faults committed during the session of parliament, as well as at any other time; and that she would not fail to exercise that power as often as the insolence of the members should give him cause. He concluded with assuring them, that if they had touched upon any points which he had formerly forbidden them to discuss, he would not deign to receive or answer their petition. The commons were incensed, not intimidated, by this menacing letter: they knew their own strength and the king's weakness, and immediately framed a new petition, to which they tacked the remonstrance. This new paper was conceived in very respectful terms: but it was no less bold than respectful. After having reminded him of the chearfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed that their zeal for the protestant religion, and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened; and to point out remedies for those evils: that, by his letter to the speaker, he seemed bent upon depriving them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, as well as of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members: they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited

rited of their ancestors; a right which he himself A. C. 1621, had confirmed in his speeches to parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance. They sent this petition with the remonstrance to the king by twelve deputies, who were treated in a most ungracious manner. He received the petition, but refused the remonstrance; and in a few days sent his answer in writing. He therein chid them severely for presuming to intrench upon his prerogative; mentioned the steps he had taken for the defence of the Palatinate; laid the blame of the war upon the imprudence of his son-in-law: complained that they had struck at the most essential parts of sovereignty, by violating his alliances; presuming to direct his conduct in the prosecution of the war; and dictating to him with regard to his son's marriage, as well as concerning the amnesty they had demanded. He told them he was an old and wise king, that needed none of their counsel; that those matters were above their comprehension; and they ought to remember the Latin proverb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. In all undertakings a man ought to have regard to his own abilities. He said they had misinterpreted his letter to the speaker; that though their privileges were derived from the favour of his predecessors and himself, he would be careful in preserving them, until they should invade his prerogative; but in that case he would strip them of those boasted privileges, which served only to diminish the fairest flowers of the crown. The commons, alarmed at this last part of his declaration, had immediate recourse to a protestation, in which they repeated all their former pretensions to freedom of speech, and liberty of offering their advice to the crown, without limitation; and affirmed, that the liberties, fran-

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A. C. 1621. franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of parliament, are the antient and indubitable right of inheritance peculiar to the subjects of England. James no sooner understood their intention, than he hastened to town; and sending for the journal of the house of commons, tore out with his own hand the protestation, which he declared null and void; both on account of the manner in which it had been framed, and of the matter it contained. It had (as he alledged) been drawn up by a committee, and presented at an unusual hour, and in a tumultuous manner, when very few members were in the house. He therefore cancelled the protestation by an act of council. In a few days after this effort in behalf of his prerogative he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, and then wreaked his vengeance upon those members of the house of commons who had taken freedoms with his power and administration. Cook, Philips, Selden, Pym, and Mallory, were committed to prison. Diggs, Crew, Rich, and Sir James Pernet were exiled to Ireland, on pretence of executing some commission in that country; and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

James hated
at home,
and ridiculed
abroad.

The whole nation was now divided between the court and the country parties. All the papists and the Arminians, which were by this time formed into a sect in England, espoused the cause of the king; and the puritans declared for the opposition. Faction was inflamed into mutual rancour and animosity. The royalists affected to confound all their opposers under the name of Puritans; and these in their turn accused the royalists of popery and Arminianism. Those who professed the tenets of Arminius were now as much caressed as they had been formerly detested by the courtiers; and William

liam Laud, who adopted this faith, was promoted ^{A. C. 1622.} to the bishopric of St. David's. James had now not only entailed upon himself the hatred of a powerful faction at home, but also incurred the contempt of all the states upon the continent. In his own kingdom they revived the scandalous insinuations touching his mother's connexion with David Riccio; and in the Spanish Netherlands he was publicly ridiculed in comedies, pictures, and pastquinades †.

Notwithstanding these insults the king continued to negotiate. He dismissed Digby to Spain, and Weston to Brussels, in order to finish the two important affairs of the marriage and the Palatinate; and, in order to fill his exhausted coffers, directed the judges on their circuits to demand a Benevolence of his subjects. His imagination was still regaled with the portion of two millions, which he should receive with the infanta of Spain; for which reason he ordered Digby to conclude the match, without stipulating for the restitution of the Palatinate; believing, that after the celebration of the nuptials Philip would not refuse him that favour. When Digby, who was in the course of this year created earl of Bristol, set out for Madrid, the king dispatched Gage to Rome, in order to hasten the dispensation; and in order to render his holiness the more propitious, released all the popish recusants

^{Sets at liberty all Roman catholic priests.}

† In a theatrical piece acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced, declaring the melancholy tidings that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the emperor; inasmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furnish the expelled elector with one hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch had resolved to spare him the like number of butter boxes, and the king of England to employ one hundred thousand

ambassadors. James was painted with an empty scabbard in his hand; and in another piece with a sword in the scabbard, which a number of persons endeavoured in vain to unsheath. He was likewise exhibited with his empty pockets turned inside out. The electress queen of Bohemia was represented as a poor Irish trull, with her child at her back, and her husband carrying the cradle behind her. Wilson.

A. C. 1612. who were in prison, by an order under the great seal addressed to all the judges of the kingdom. As this arbitrary step of dispensing with the laws produced loud clamours all over the nation, the bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the seals, published a justification of the king's conduct. He alledged that it would ill become his majesty to solicit foreign princes in behalf of their protestant subjects, while he himself practised such severities against the Roman catholics of his own kingdom; and that the English jesuits had written a book in which they exhorted the French king to excite the same laws against the Huguenots, which were levelled at the catholics of Great Britain.

Imperialists
reduce the
Palatinate,
except Fran-
kendahl.

The count of Schwartzzenburgh, when he arrived in England, was found to have no power to conclude a truce; and therefore there was a necessity for negotiating with the archdutchess at Brussels, whither, as we have observed, Weston, had been dispatched as ambassador; and, to pave the way towards success, lord Vaux, a papist was permitted to levy two thousand men in England, to serve this princess in the war against the states general. Mean while prince Christian of Brunswick, administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, who had accompanied the Palatine to the Hague, levied an army in Westphalia, which had retired into Alsace: but, being opposed by the Spanish forces, the count of Anhalt, and the Bavarian army under Tilly, they found great difficulty in entering the Palatinate. The elector travelling through France, arrived at the army of Mansfeldt, which had advanced to Germersheim: but the prince of Baden was defeated on the sixth day of May. In a month after this action, count Tilly routed the Palatine and Mansfeldt, who fled to Mannheim; and he afterwards attacked prince Christian, who, though worsted in the engagement, made shift to join the elector with good part of his forces. They were

afterwards surrounded by the Spanish and Bavarians, reinforced to the number of fifty thousand. Then the palatine returned to Holland. The prince of Brunswick and Mansfeldt marching to the Low-Countries, were attacked in Brabant by Gonzalez de Cordova; and the battle was fought with equal success on both sides. The prince of Brunswick lost his arm by a cannon-ball: and Mansfeldt continued his route to Holland. Tilly being left without an enemy in the Palatinate, reduced Heidelberg and Manheim, and then undertook the siege of Frankendahl.

During these transactions, conferences were begun at Brussels, at the desire of James, in order to procure the truce which he had desired; but the Spaniards refused to treat with any but principals, and the English ambassador was not vested with sufficient powers from the Palatine and his allies. When these were obtained, the archduchess owned that she herself had no other power than a simple letter from the emperor, desiring her to concert proper measures with the English ambassador: in a word, that princess and the count de Schwartzburgh protracted the negotiation on various pretences, until Hiedelberg was taken and Manheim besieged. James wrote to the Spanish monarch, desiring that the affairs of the Palatine might continue in their present posture till the expiration of the truce, and that the blockade of Manheim might be raised. But before Philip could give orders for this purpose, that city had surrendered, and Tilly had invested Fankendahl, which he would soon have reduced, had not the overflowing of the rivers compelled him to abandon his enterprize.

Fruitless
conference
at Brussels.

Hist. de Re-
bellion de
Boheme.

Hitherto the court of Spain had amused James with a fruitless negotiation for a marriage, to which the house of Austria was extremely averse. The

Truce be-
tween the
emperor and
elector Pa-
latine.

pope

G 2

A. C. 1622. pope would not grant the dispensation, without stipulating such advantages for the catholic religion in England, as he could not believe James would ever allow: but this prince was so intent upon the match and the two millions, that he subscribed to all his conditions; and the king of Spain foreseeing that his condescension would, in all probability, pave the way for the re-establishment of popery in the dominions of Great-Britain, resolved at last to bestow the infanta upon the prince of Wales. He perceived that the king of England would not be much longer amused by artifices, of which he began to find himself the dupe; and took it for granted, that he would, upon his being undeceived, support the Palatine effectually: this consideration, added to the other motive, determined him in favour

A. C. 1623. of the marriage. In these sentiments he wrote to the archdutchess, desiring she would order the general to raise the siege of Frankendahl, and renew the congress for a truce at London, where it was accordingly concluded for eighteen months, on condition that Frankendahl should be put into the hands of the infanta Isabella, who should restore it at the expiration of the truce to the English; and that the elector Palatine should renounce all connexion with the prince of Brunswick and count Mansfeldt. Before the conclusion of this ridiculous treaty, the emperor at the diet of Ratisbon had transferred the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria, in spite of a vigorous opposition from several princes, who dreaded such an example.

Prince of
Wales and
Buckingham visit
Spain.

The king of England saw with unconcern his son-in-law thus stripped of his estate and dignity; and still consoled himself for the contempt of mankind, with the hope of the marriage, in which he by this time really had reason to think he should not be disappointed. He and the prince of Wales had

had signed all the articles proposed by the courts of Rome and Madrid; and agreed to every regulation touching the infanta's portion and her jointure. The counts of Olivarez and Gondemar had shewn Philip's approbation, in a writing signed with his own hand. As the dispensation was expected from Rome in the month of March or April at farthest, it was resolved that the marriage should be celebrated in four days after it should be received; and, that in twenty days after this ceremony, the infanta should set out for England. Nothing could have prevented the conclusion of this long expected marriage, but the frantic step which was now taken by the prince of Wales and the marquis of Buckingham. This favourite, with a view either to have the honour of finishing an affair of such importance, or to contract a nearer intimacy with the prince of Wales; or, lastly, to display his influence and gallantry to the Spanish nation, persuaded Charles to surprise Philip with a visit, which, from the romantic nature of the adventure, would captivate the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and induce him to take some resolution in favour of the Palatine, as a return for this generous confidence. The prince approved of the proposal, which was communicated to the king when he happened to be in good humour; and he signed his assent before he reflected on the consequences, agreeing that the prince and Buckingham should set out in disguise, attended by Sir Francis Cottington, secretary to Charles, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed chamber. These were pitched upon, not only as persons in whom they could confide, but also because they had been at the court of Spain, and understood the language of the country. When James began to consider this strange project, the timidity of his disposition exaggerated all the dangerous consequences that might attend

A. C. 1623. attend the execution of it; and next day he imparted them to his son and favourite, begging they would think no more of such a rash undertaking. The prince insisted upon his promise; the marquis upbraided him with breach of faith: Sir Francis Cottington, being consulted, confirmed all the king's fears: James broke out into a passion of tears and lamentation, exclaiming he was undone, and that he should lose baby Charles. Buckingham chid, reviled, and threatened Cottington for his presuming to give his advice in affairs of state; and the king, rather than disoblige his favourite, renewed his consent to the journey.

Where
Charles is
created with
great ho-
nour and
hospitality.

The necessary preparations being made, they set out for France, through which they travelled in disguise, and even ventured to appear at a ball in Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused. In eleven days after his departure from England he arrived at Madrid, where Philip received him in the most cordial manner. He expressed the deepest obligation to him for the generous confidence he had reposed in his honour; presented him a golden key that opened the locks of all his apartments; and introduced him into the palace with all the pomp of a coronation. The privy-council were publicly ordered to obey him as the king himself; all the prisons of Spain were thrown open in honour of this royal stranger; sumptuary laws were suspended; and the king honoured him with precedency in every place but the prince's own apartment, where he was supposed to be at home. The only circumstance in which they maintained any reserve, related to the infanta, whom the Spanish manners would not allow him to see but in public, until the dispensation should arrive. In a word, nothing could be more noble and generous than the conduct of Philip on this remarkable occasion. True it is,
endca-

endeavours were used to convert him to the catholic religion, both by theological arguments and political reasons. He received a letter from pope Gregory XV. exhorting him to return within the pale of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had signalized themselves so often in the defence of religion. To this he sent a civil answer, which gave offence to narrow minds among the protestants. When the dispensation arrived, they found it clogged with certain additional articles, importing, That the infant should have a church in London: That the children of the marriage should be educated by the mother, until they should have attained the tenth year of their age: That the nurses should be catholics, appointed by the infant: And that the king of England should give security for the performance of the articles, concerning religion. Philip agreed to be security for James, to whom the new-drawn articles were sent by Cottington.

His arrival in England was attended with a report that the pope and the king of Spain demanded a toleration for English papists. James actually consulted his council on this subject, and received a letter from Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, conjuring him, as he tendered his own safety and the welfare of the nation, to forbear taking such a pernicious measure. James, without paying the least regard to this remonstrance, signed, sealed, and swore to the execution of the articles, by some of which he promised that the Roman catholics should not be molested in the private exercise of their religion; and that no new laws should be made to their prejudice. Cottington was sent back to Madrid with those ratified conditions; and the king was so well pleased with the success of the negotiation, that he created his favourite Villiers, duke of Buckingham, though there was not another person in

James agrees to marriage articles proposed by the pope and king of Spain.

A. C. 1623. England who possessed such a dignity. His condescension was so great that Philip began to doubt his sincerity. He postponed the departure of the infant to the spring; and in the mean time ordered his ambassador in England to desire the king would begin to execute his engagements in favour of the catholics. James was embarrassed by this demand: he dreaded the consequence of proclaiming a toleration; but he delivered into the ambassador's hand a declaration of his council, specifying his intention for that purpose; and the court of Spain seemed to be satisfied with this expedient. Pope Gregory dying in the interim, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, until it should be confirmed by the new pontiff; and Urban XIII. being raised to the papacy, deferred this step, in hope of the prince's conversion.

Match
broke off by
the intrigues
of Bucking-
ham.

The count de Olivarez, Philip's prime minister, reminded Buckingham of his having promised that Charles should become a proselyte to the catholic religion; and the duke gave him the lie without hesitation. This English minister had rendered himself extremely odious to the Spaniards by his levity and presumption; and he, in his turn, hated them with the like aversion. He saw the disposition of Charles was perfectly well suited to the Spanish gravity and reserve; and was afraid that, should the marriage succeed, his influence would be superseded by the interest of that nation at the court of England. He had now gained the ascendancy over the prince's spirit; and whatever arguments he may have used, certain it is, he all of a sudden detached him from the prosecution of the alliance. It was a more difficult task to persuade the king to part at once with the hopes he had so long indulged; yet even this he accomplished. He gave him to understand by letters, that Philip had no intention to effect the restitution of the Palatinate, nor

Clarendon.

even to accomplish the contract of marriage; but that the prince ran the risque of being detained all his life in Spain. Charles wrote at the same time to his father, that he did not expect to return; and desired that he would thence forward consider the electress as his sole heir.

A. C. 1623.

Weldon.
Coke.

James, alarmed at this intelligence, wrote in the first transport of his fear to Buckingham, charging him to bring home the prince immediately; and forthwith dispatched vessels to St. Andero in Biscay, to take them on board. The duke immediately communicated this order to Philip, alledging the prince's return was absolutely necessary to quiet the fears and suspicions of the English people: but, in the mean time, he would leave a proxy, to espouse the infanta, as soon as the confirmed dispensation should arrive. The king of Spain made no objection to his return, but offered to be the prince's proxy; a procuration for this purpose was drawn up and signed by the prince of Wales, who delivered it to the earl of Bristol, with order to put it into the hands of Philip in ten days after the arrival of the dispensation. The Spanish monarch accompanied his guest to the Escorial, where he was royally regaled; and erected a pillar on the spot where they parted, as a monument of their friendship. The prince, before he embarked, dispatched one of his domestics with a letter to the earl of Bristol at Madrid, desiring that he would not part with the procuration until he (Charles) should be satisfied that the infanta, after the ceremony, should not take the veil. The ambassador, willing to remove this obstacle before the arrival of the dispensation, demanded securities of the Spanish monarch; who returned a very satisfactory answer, which the earl communicated to king James and the prince of Wales. James had not yet resigned his hope of the marriage, though

The prince
and Buck-
ingham re-
turn to Eng-
land.

A. C. 1623 though he now became more than ever solicitous about the interest of his daughter. He, in a letter to Bristol, expressed his hope that before Christmas he should be blessed with two articles of agreeable news, namely, the marriage of his son, and the restoration of his daughter. The ambassador discoursed on this subject with the count d'Olivarez, who declared that the procuration should never be demanded, until the king should have first delivered a promise in writing, that the Palatinate should be restored. It was at this period that the prince of Wales disclosed to his father the aversion he had conceived to the marriage. His remonstrance was seconded by the duke of Buckingham, who had for many years governed him with the most despotic authority; and his influence must have been very powerful indeed, to overcome the king's attachment to an alliance, for which he had so long sacrificed the interest of his family. He forbade the earl of Bristol to part with the procuration; an order which was no sooner signified to Philip, than the infanta laid aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had assumed since the arrival of the dispensation; and a stop was put to all the preparations for the marriage. The earl of Bristol was immediately recalled; and as he had never humbled himself before the favourite, was exposed, in the sequel to his resentment, which Charles himself adopted even after his accession to the throne.

Wilson.
Du Chesne:
Clarendon.

James convokes a parliament.
A. C. 1624. Since the return of the prince from Spain, he and Buckingham intirely superseded the authority of James, and ruled the kingdom according to their own pleasure. The duke seems to have persuaded Charles that Philip acted with insincerity; otherwise we cannot account for his eager desire of denouncing war against that monarch. The king's reluctance to such measures was overpowered by the

the impetuosity of those who directed his conduct : A. C. 1624. they prevailed upon him to sign orders for exacting a Benevolence, which was partly levied in the most arbitrary manner, on pretence of recovering the Palatinate; but all of a sudden the collectors desisted; and James convoked a parliament, to which Buckingham thought he should recommend himself effectually by his having broke off the Spanish match, an alliance so disagreeable to the English nation. In order to pave the way to this popularity, he affected to caress some of the leading puritans, consulting them upon means for re-uniting the chapter-lands to the crown; and when the parliament met, the king's speech to the two houses plainly proved, that he spoke the suggestions of a minister, in contradiction to the whole tenour of his former conduct. Instead of expatiating upon his prerogative, as usual, he now modestly craved their advice and assistance touching his son's marriage, the welfare of his daughter and family, and the general peace of Europe. He mentioned the prince's journey to Spain: which, together with all his negotiations for the match, had, as he said, proved ineffectual from the insincerity of the court of Madrid. He declared that he never designed to grant a toleration to the catholics; protested before God, that his intention was to maintain the commons in the enjoyment of all their privileges; and conjured them again to take into immediate consideration the important subjects he had proposed. This harangue was well received by the house, which Buckingham had filled with his creatures.

In a conference between the peers and commons, while the prince of Wales was present, the duke, in a long discourse, explained the motives of the prince's journey to Spain; the negotiation for the marriage and restitution of the Palatinate, and the reasons of the prince's abrupt return. He alledged that the king

Buckingham becomes popular.

A. C. 1621. king had been misled by the false reports of the earl of Bristol; that Philip never intended either to conclude the match, or interest himself in behalf of the Palatine; and that the whole blame of the miscarriage ought to be laid upon the English ambassador, who had abused his majesty's confidence. For the truth of his assertions he appealed to Charles, who confirmed the truth of his allegations; and his speech was crowned with universal applause. The Spanish ambassador having complained to the king, that the duke of Buckingham spoke of his master in disrespectful terms, the two houses presented an address to his majesty, declaring that the duke had said nothing which ought to give offence to the Spanish monarch; and they thanked that nobleman for his candid narration. As the king had not told them that the negotiation for the marriage was absolutely at an end, they drew up another address, counselling his majesty to break off the treaty; and James, convening them in the house of peers, declared he was ready to comply with their request, provided they would enable him to support the war, which would infallibly ensue. He even condescended so far as to propose, that the subsidies, which they should grant, might be managed by commissioners appointed in parliament. They promised to vote three whole subsidies and as many fifteenths on these terms; and he dispatched a courier to Madrid with letters, by which he formally broke off the negotiation.

Parliament
petitions the
king against
the papists.

This resolution was no sooner known to the people than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The two houses petitioned the king to execute the laws against jesuits and Roman priests; to give orders for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them to retire from London; to revoke all licences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great course

course of people who resorted to mass in the chapels of ambassadors; to deprive all papists of the posts which they enjoyed; and to engage his royal word that he would not for the future suspend the execution of the laws against popish recusants, on any account whatsoever. To this petition the king sent a very complaisant answer, assuring them in general, that he would comply with their demands: but he artfully avoided explaining himself touching those articles that mentioned the removal of the papists from London, and their being divested of all employments. Buckingham's mother and wife, one of the secretaries of state, and many persons possessed of considerable offices, were either professed or reputed Roman catholics. The commons presented a list of fifty-seven to the king, but he would not signify his sentiments on this subject; and they did not insist upon satisfaction.

The marquis d'Innoiosa, the Spanish ambassador, incensed against Buckingham for having prevented the marriage, and treated his master with such disrespect, took an opportunity of putting a paper into the king's hand privately; and James retired forthwith into his closet, where he was not a little surprised to find it an accusation of the duke, digested into different articles, calculated to alarm him with fears of personal danger. They imported, That the king was surrounded with people devoted to the prince and the duke; so that he could not be informed of what passed in parliament, or even in his own court; where he was, in all respects as much a prisoner as ever Francis I. of France was at Madrid: That the prince and Buckingham had resolved to remove him from the throne; and, for that purpose, engaged him in a war, that they might have a pretext for levying troops to dethrone him: That the duke's emissaries endeavoured to render his majesty odious and contemptible among his

Spanish ambassador, accuses Buckingham to the king.

A. C. 1624. his subjects, and had already corrupted the parliament: That Buckingham had not only broke off the match, but even divulged his master's secrets, and exerted his utmost efforts to embroil him with the Hollanders: That he had been bribed by divers foreign ambassadors, and put himself at the head of the puritans, though he knew they had formed a scheme for transferring the crown to the electress Palatine. In the conclusion of this paper, he was desired to take the opportunity of the prince's being in the house of peers with Buckingham, to send for the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, by whom all his doubts and scruples would be removed. James, alarmed with this information, actually conferred in private with the secretary, and another Spaniard, known by the name of father Maestro; and from that day became melancholy and distrustful. He could not conceal his sentiments from Buckingham, nor forbear to exhibit marks of alienation. One day, setting out with the prince for Windsor, he ordered the duke to stay behind on some slight pretence. Buckingham, shocked at this order, begged in the name of God to know what was laid to his charge; and the king professed himself extremely unhappy in being abandoned by those who enjoyed the greatest share of his affection. The duke retired to his own house, overwhelmed with anxiety; but, by the advice of the bishop of Lincoln, he soon followed the king to Windsor, where he found means to remove his majesty's suspicions: or rather James dissembled his sentiments, through fear of the other's resentment. He longed with impatience for the arrival of the earl of Bristol, on whose integrity and prudence he could rely with the utmost confidence. Before the end of the session, the duke of Buckingham, being offended at Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and lord treasurer, for having refused
to

to answer some demands during the prince's residence in Spain, resolved to shew that as he had influence enough to raise this minister from obscurity, so he had power sufficient left to punish his presumption. He was, by the duke's instigation, impeached of divers misdemeanours; and though the evidence against him was extremely defective he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty thousand pounds, and rendered incapable of sitting in the house of peers. When this prosecution began, the king, who looked upon Middlesex as a faithful and able minister, conjured the prince and Buckingham to use their interest for putting a stop to the proceedings; but they remained inflexible, and he was obliged to submit.

Coke.
Wilson.
Clarendon.

Earl of Bristol confined.

Such was the despotism exercised over the mind of this weak prince, that when the earl of Bristol arrived at Dover, he sent an order, commanding him to confine himself within his own house, until he should answer certain questions. After the prorogation of the parliament, that nobleman petitioned that he might be interrogated; and, by dint of repeated solicitations, obtained his request. The commissioners appointed by the council for this purpose, having examined him minutely, declared they could find nothing reprehensible in his conduct. Nevertheless, he was still confined, and given to understand, that there was only one way to regain his majesty's favour, namely, that of owning himself guilty of certain misdemeanours which were specified to him in writing. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and the king told Buckingham, that he exercised a most horrible tyranny, in compelling an innocent man to declare himself guilty: but he had not interest enough to screen him from oppression, or even to see him, though he ardently wished for an opportunity to profit by his advice. In the mean time, six thousand men were sent over to

A. C. 1624. to Holland, to serve in the army of the states, under the prince of Orange; and other levies were begun for troops to join the count of Mansfeldt, who intended to make an irruption into the Palatinate during the winter.

Treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France.

Henry Rich, lately created earl of Holland, had been sent ambassador to France, to sound that court touching a marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta; and the proposal was agreeable to the French ministry. The earl of Carlisle was sent over to assist Holland in the negotiation; and the conferences were opened in Compeigne, at the very time when James, according to his promise to parliament, ordered the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants. The Roman catholic priests in England implored the intercession of Lewis XIII. who, in compliance with their desire, dispatched the archbishop of Ambrun to solicit in their behalf. That prelate arrived at Royston in disguise, and had divers conferences with the king, who declared himself a friend to the catholic religion; assured him that the members of that communion should not be injured under his government, and imparted a ridiculous scheme for procuring a general toleration all over Christendom. The treaty for the marriage was still carried on; and after some debates, concluded under the auspices of cardinal de Richlieu, on condition, That the princess Henrietta should enjoy all the indulgences with respect to religion which had been stipulated for the infant; among other articles, that she should superintend the education of her children to the age of thirteen. Her portion was fixed at eight hundred thousand French crowns; and her jointure at sixty thousand. By three private articles, the king of Great Britain obliged himself to release all the catholics who had been arrested on the score of religion since his last pro-

Rushworth.

proclamation on that subject; to restore their effects which might have been seized; and protect them for the future from persecution. A. C. 1024.

The earl of Carlile had proposed to Lewis a league against the house of Austria, and the French court not only discovered an inclination to enter into such an engagement; but even promised to join a body of troops to those which James had undertaken to raise for the count de Mansfeldt. This great officer arrived in England, where he met with a very honourable reception; and the king agreed that he should have twelve thousand men, to make a diversion in the lower Palatinate. This body being levied, James demanded of the infant Isabella the town of Frankendahl, which was delivered into her hands, until the truce should expire; and a free passage for the English garrison through the dominions of Spain and its allies. That princess declared, she would punctually comply with the articles of the treaty of London, in delivering up Frankendahl, and granting a passage for the English troops through the territories belonging to her and the king of Spain; but that she could not undertake for their passing unmolested through the dominions of the empire. Thus was the king of England over-reached in such a manner, that the treaty was rendered altogether ineffectual. When the truce expired, the governor of Frankendahl marched out of the place with his garrison; but as no person appeared in behalf of his Britannic majesty, he forthwith returned, and retook possession of the town. The troops destined for the service of Mansfeldt were embarked in the severe season of the year; and when they arrived at Calais, the French would not suffer them to land. Then the general set sail for Zealand, where he met with the same repulse. A negotiation was set on foot; but before he could obtain leave to disembark, an

English levies for the service of the Palatinate rendered useless by want of foresight in the English ministry.

A. C. 1624. epidemical distemper had destroyed two thirds of his army: the survivors either deserted or enlisted among their countrymen who were in the service of the states; and thus the whole armament was frustrated by the imprudence of the ministry, which had not beforehand stipulated with the French for the landing of the forces.

A. C. 1625.

Death and character of James I. king of Great Britain.

When the dispensation for the marriage of Charles and the princess Henrietta arrived from Rome, it was clogged with two new articles, implying, That the servants of the children born of the marriage, should be catholics nominated by the mother; and, That the king of England and the prince of Wales should swear to the performance of this stipulation. James refused to take another oath, observing, that his word was sufficient: so that there was a necessity for having a new dispensation without this clause. But James did not live to see the marriage take effect. About the middle of March he was seized with a tertian ague, which in a few days brought him to the grave, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after he had reigned two and twenty years in England. On this occasion, Buckingham did not pass unsuspected of having offered violence to the life of his sovereign; for he had applied plaisters to his wrists and belly, and administered medicines internally, without the consent or knowledge of his physicians. James was in his stature of the middle size, inclining to corpulency: his forehead was high, his beard scanty, and his aspect mean. His eyes, which were large and languid, he rolled about incessantly, as if in quest of novelties. His tongue was so large, that in speaking or drinking he belaboured the by-standers. His knees were so weak as to bend under the weight of his body. His address was awkward, and his appearance slovenly. There was nothing dignified either in the composition of his mind or person. We have in the course of

Wilson.

of his reign exhibited repeated instances of his ridiculous vanity, prejudices, profusion, folly, and little-ness of soul. All that we can add in his favour is, that he was averse to cruelty and injustice; very little addicted to excess, temperate in his meals, kind to his servants, and even desirous of acquiring the love of his subjects, by granting that as a favour which they claimed as a privilege. His reign, though ignoble to himself, was happy to his people. They were enriched by commerce, which no war interrupted. They felt no severe impositions; and the commons made considerable progress in ascertaining the liberties of the nation*.

* James died at Theobald's, from whence his body was conveyed to Westminster-Abbey, in which it was interred. His children by Anne of Denmark, were Henry Frederick, who died prince of Wales; Robert, who did not survive his infancy; Charles, by whom he was succeeded on the throne; Elizabeth electress Palatine; Margaret, Mary, and Sophia, who died infants.

Carte.

In the year 1609, a new settlement was made on the Bermudas by Sir George Somers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, had embarked for Virginia, but was driven on those islands, which from him were denominated Somers's Islands.

In this and the preceding reign England produced a number of excellent poets, such as Spencer, Sidney, Shakespeare, and Johnson; while Bacon excelled in natural philosophy, and Camden flourished as an antiquary and historian. James himself was an author: he wrote the Basilicon Doron; a book on witches and apparitions; and a Commentary on the Revelations, proving the pope to be antichrist.

In the 14th year of this reign, Sir Hugh Middleton, a private citizen of London, supplied part of the city with excellent water, conveyed in an aqueduct from Ware in Hertfordshire, now known by the name of the New River.

C H A R L E S I.

A. C. 1625.

Charles I.
succeeds to
the throne

Immmediately after the decease of James, his son Charles was proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. He confirmed all the great officers in their places; appointed Sir Albertus More, secretary of state, in the room of G. Calvert lord Baltimore, who had professed himself a Roman catholic; granted a pardon to Cranfield earl of Middlesex; recalled by proclamation all the British subjects from the Imperial, Spanish, and Flemish services; issued commissions for granting letters of reprisal against the Spaniards, as well as for raising ten thousand men, partly for a naval expedition, and partly for the recovery of the Palatinate. These troops were sent to Portsmouth to be embarked, and the expence of their subsistence and cloathing was assigned upon different counties, to be afterwards reimbursed by the exchequer.

The marriage of the king being celebrated by proxy at Paris, the duke of Buckingham was employed to conduct the queen to England. She arrived on the twelfth day of June at Dover, where she was received by Charles, and the nuptials were consummated at Canterbury. On the sixteenth day of the same month, the king and queen made their public entry into London; and on the eighteenth the parliament assembled. Charles, in his first speech, reminded the two houses of their having counselled his father to break off the two treaties, and employ more effectual means for the recovery of the Palatinate: he therefore expected they would support him in maintaining the war, which was the result of their advice. He intreated them to be speedy with their supplies; and assured them

His marriage.

them of his attachment to the protestant religion. A. C. 1625.
 Lord Coventry keeper of the great seal enlarged upon the different parts of the king's speech, recommended his wants to their generosity, and vouched for his majesty's affection to his parliament and people.

By this time the popularity of Buckingham had vanished: the commons had discovered that they were misled by his false representation of the Spanish affair; and he no longer payed court to the puritan faction, which was now become extremely powerful. Under this denomination, the court affected to consider all those leading members of the lower house, who had associated themselves in a regular design to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and ascertain and augment the liberties of the commons. They looked upon the hierarchy as the firm prop of monarchical power, and detested it accordingly: they found the levelling principles of the puritans more consonant to their republican schemes: they saw them numerous, wealthy, warm, enterprising, and enthusiastic; of consequence, the more easily moved and actuated by art and dissimulation: they therefore enrolled themselves as members of that party. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which the king pressed the commons for an immediate supply, the first business upon which the parliament proceeded, was a petition of both houses against popish recusants; and they received a gracious though a general answer. Then they summoned doctor Montague, the king's chaplain, to the bar of the house, for having written a book, intitled, An appeal to Cæsar, in which he gave it as his opinion, that a virtuous catholic might be saved from eternal damnation; and seemed to favour the Roman doctrine. He was remitted to the archbishop of Canterbury, who contented himself with exhorting him to avoid writing on such subjects for the future. The king

The commons refractory.

Rushworth.

A. C. 1695. was piqued at this prosecution, and evoked the cause before his own council. He could not help expressing his displeasure at the conduct of the commons, who nevertheless granted two subsidies, though these were not at all adequate to his necessities.

Seamen refuse to fight against the Huguenots,

As the plague made dreadful havoc in London, the parliament was adjourned to Oxford; and in the mean time an incident happened, which strongly marked the character of the English people at this period. James, immediately before his death, had promised to lend the French king six ships to serve against the Genoese; but Lewis XIII. resolved to use them in the siege of Rochelle against his protestant subjects. They accordingly sailed to Dieppe, under the command of Pennington; but the captains and seamen no sooner understood their destination, than they weighed anchor, and returned to England. The king sent a positive order to Pennington, commanding him to steer his course to Dieppe again, and deliver them into the hands of the French. The order was obeyed; but all the men deserted rather than serve against the protestants of Rochelle. Yet, even these Huguenots were supported by the king of Spain, and their revolt prevented Lewis from assisting the English monarch in his designs against the house of Austria.

Parliament dissolved.

When the parliament assembled at Oxford, the house of commons was immediately filled with complaints against the duke of Buckingham and other ministers, who had counselled the king to misapply the subsidies which had been granted to his father. They observed, that no care was taken to protect the trade of the nation from pirates: that there was a powerful party in the kingdom, which openly favoured Popery and Arminianism; and they again summoned Montague to the bar of the house, where he was very severely reprimanded. The king perceiving they

they were more intent upon the grievances of the nation, than upon the exigency of his affairs, sent for both houses to the hall of Christ-church college, where he again put them in mind of their promise to support the war; and assured them, that the supply they had voted would not be sufficient to defray the expence of a fleet which he had actually equipped. Then one of the secretaries of state explained the necessity of granting a much larger sum for the king's occasions. The commons, instead of complying with these hints, renewed their complaints against the duke of Buckingham and the favourers of popery; and Charles, in order to render them more propitious to his views, indulged them with a particular answer to every article of their former petition; granting every thing they desired. Even this condescension failed to mollify their hearts, and open their purses. They still dwelt upon the grievances of the nation, and the state of religion; and the king, incensed to see all his measures broken, dissolved the parliament, on pretence of the plague's having extended to Oxford. But the commons before their dissolution, with a view to justify themselves in the opinion of the people, drew up an artful declaration, importing, That their design was to support his majesty in all his just undertakings, after they should have procured redress for the grievances of the nation.

Rushworths

Charles having nothing to hope from parliament, raised money by way of loan, extorted by orders under the privy seal; and, to facilitate this expedient, issued a proclamation, recalling all the children of English parents that were in foreign seminaries, as well as the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, who were in the service of the house of Austria; while, at the same time, the privy council published an order for disarming all popish recusants. The fleet destined to act against Spain, con-

Fruitless expedition against the Spaniards.

A.C. 1545. sisting of fourscore ships, having on board ten regiments of infantry, set sail in October, under the command of Edward Cecil just created viscount Wimpleton, instructed to cruise in a certain latitude, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet on its return from the West-Indies. He was disappointed in his expectation; but, might have taken or destroyed a great number of rich galleons and gallies lying in the bay of Cadiz, had the earl of Essex, who commanded the van, attacked them before they could have put themselves under the cannon of Portreal, and sunk some vessels in the channel to block up the passage. A thousand men being landed with Sir John Burgh, the fort of Puntal surrendered at the first summons. The rest of the infantry were next day set on shore, and marched towards the bridge of Suazzo; but, being quartered in a place where there was great plenty of wine, the soldiers drank it to such excess, that universal confusion ensued; and the officers were obliged to desist from their enterprize. The army was immediately reembarked, and the fleet returned to England about the middle of December, without having struck one stroke of importance.

The king's
coronation.

The king's finances being quite exhausted, he published a proclamation, ordering all persons possessed of forty pounds a year, who had not yet been knighted, to come and receive that dignity: but, reaping very little advantage from this expedient, he found himself under the necessity of convoking another parliament. In the mean time he was crowned at Westminster by the hands of Laud bishop of Bath and Wells, who approaching him as he sat upon his throne, pronounced an obsolete address in the Latin language, to this effect, "Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth, that place of royal dignity whereof you are the lawful and undoubted heir by succession from your ancestors,"

“cestors, and which hath been this day delivered A. C. 1625.
 “unto you, in the name and by the authority of
 “Almighty God, and by the hands of us the
 “bishops and servants of God, though unworthy;
 “whom as you see approach nearer to God’s altars,
 “so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to
 “them your royal favour and protection; and the
 “Lord Almighty, whose ministers and stewards
 “they are, establish your throne in righteousness,
 “that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the
 “sun before him, and as the faithful witness in
 “heaven.” The revival of this invocation, which
 had been discontinued since the coronation of Richard
 H. gave great offence to the puritans, and indeed
 was a very idle and unseasonable mark of Laud’s
 superstition.

The king, that he might be rid of the leaders of Another
 the opposition, appointed them as sheriffs of coun parliament
 ties, so that they could not sit in the house of convoked.
 commons; but this scheme did not answer expectation.
 That spirit had diffused itself through the whole
 kingdom; and this new parliament inherited the
 complexion and character of the last. The session A. C. 1626.
 was opened with a speech by Sir Thomas Coventry
 lord-keeper of the great seal, who extolled the vir-
 tues of the king, and in his majesty’s name recom-
 mended unanimity. He likewise assured them of
 the king’s affections towards his subjects, and ex-
 hortated them to enact wholesome laws for the benefit
 of his people. The commons having presented an
 address to the king, thanking him for his gracious
 answer to the petition delivered by the last parlia-
 ment, began to take the grievances of the people
 into consideration. They chose one committee for
 secret affairs; another to consider of ways and
 means to redress the grievances; and a third to exa-
 mine the state of religion. This was their main
 engine, managed by the famous Pym, chairman of
 the

A. C. 1626. the committee. Two books, composed by Montague, were again brought under inspection, and condemned as erroneous, popish, and Arminian. Charles demanded a subsidy, and endeavoured to deserve it, by ordering the judges to put the laws in execution against popish recusants. But still the commons continued to brood upon the grievances: they even obliged the commissioners appointed by parliament for managing the subsidies granted in the late reign, to give an account of their administration. Charles not only pressed them to grant the subsidy without further delay, which might be prejudicial to his affairs, but, in a letter to the speaker, he gave the members of the lower house to understand, that he would not receive a supply unless it should be proportioned to his occasions, of which that they might not plead ignorance, he signified them in five articles that accompanied the letter. The commons, shocked at this peremptory message, presented an address, couched in the most respectful terms, expressing their hope that he would graciously receive such information from his parliament as would discover the cause of his majesty's wants as well as of the national grievances; and they protested they would assist him so effectually that he should find himself secure at home and formidable abroad. Charles, in apprehension of their impeaching Buckingham, against whom they loudly exclaimed as the author of all the grievances, wrote a second letter to the speaker, in which he plainly told them he would not suffer them to proceed against any of his domestics, much less against those who filled the first places about his person. He said he could not comprehend their reasons for attacking the duke of Buckingham, who had been so popular in the first parliament of his reign for the service he had done the nation: he declared that the duke, instead of augmenting, had considerably diminished

diminished his fortune; and that he had done nothing but by his master's express commands; he therefore desired they would dispatch the affair of the supply, otherwise they themselves would be the first sufferers by their own delay. This letter produced no effect: they still resolved to impeach Buckingham. Doctor Turner, one of the members, proposed the question, whether or not they might proceed against the duke upon public report? and it was decided in the affirmative. The king demanded that Turner should be punished for his presumption; but the message was disregarded: nevertheless they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths; but resolved that the bill should not pass until their grievances were redressed.

Rushworth.

Charles, impatient of their proceedings, convoked both houses at Whitehall, where he thanked the lords for their loyalty and moderation; but told the commons he had sent for them to convince them of their having acted contrary to the constitution of the kingdom. Then the lord-keeper haranguing them in his majesty's name, observed that as no prince was more attached to the lawful use of parliaments than their sovereign, so no king was more jealous of his prerogative, which he would not suffer to be violated under the pretext of parliamentary freedom. He complained that Mr. Cook and doctor Turner had spoke seditiously in their house, with a view to defame and bring his government into contempt; and that his majesty's messages, demanding that these members should be punished for their insolence, had been disregarded. He exculpated the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; on the testimony of the king himself; and insisted upon their desisting from such irregular informations. He complained that raw members, without age, education, and experience, had presumed to vilify his council of state: that they had spoken of affairs in

Commons proceed with uncommon vivacity.

A. C. 1616. such a manner as to prejudice his negotiations with foreign powers: that their committees had not only examined the letters of his secretaries as well as his own, but even ordered the clerks of the office to produce memorials and secret notes made for his majesty's service. He declared that the supplies they had voted were altogether insufficient for the purposes to which they were destined; and commanded them to let him know, by Saturday next, what sum they would add to the subsidies already granted; giving them to understand, that should they fail in voting such an aid as would be sufficient to answer his exigencies, he would not promise to keep them longer assembled; whereas, by complying with his desire, they would obtain his consent to sit as long as the season would permit. The lord-keeper having concluded his speech, the king himself reminded them of the two treaties which had been broken off by the express advice of parliament. He observed that Mr. Cook had said, it was better to be devoured by foreigners, than to be ruined by impositions at home; but, for his part, he thought it was more honourable for a sovereign to be ruined by foreign enemies, than to fall under the contempt of his own subjects: and he told them, that as it was his undoubted prerogative to assemble and dissolve parliaments, it would depend on their behaviour, whether they should continue or cease. As soon as the commons returned to their house they ordered the doors to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table, that no member might retire until they should have deliberated upon the king's declaration.

They present a remonstrance.

Charles, being informed of their intention, ordered a conference to be held forthwith between the two houses, and sent the duke of Buckingham to explain his meaning in such a manner as might mitigate the severity of his expressions. The duke signified

signified the reasons that induced his majesty to be so importunate for a supply; and assured them he had no intention to interrupt their proceedings upon the grievances of the nation. He took this opportunity to justify his own conduct and magnify his services; and the lord Conway, secretary of state, attempted to demonstrate that the subsidies had been employed according to the intention of parliament. Though the commons were in some measure appeased by this instance of the king's condescension, they presented a remonstrance, vindicating themselves from the charge of irregularity and presumption; representing that it was the undoubted privilege of parliament to deliberate upon national grievances; and humbly intreating that he would not take notice of any thing that might be said in the freedom of their debates, but suspend his judgment until he should see their resolutions. The king, being extremely embarrassed for want of money, and foreseeing that the commons would not deliberate upon that article until they should be satisfied in the other, at length consented to their impeaching the duke of Buckingham.

Their proceedings on this subject were retarded by an unexpected incident. The earl of Bristol, who had been confined to his own house ever since his return from Spain, presented a petition to the house of lords; representing that he had not been summoned by writ to parliament, and begging they would intercede with his majesty, that he might enjoy his privilege as a peer of the realm. The lords addressed the king on this subject, and he complied with their request; but at the same time the keeper of the privy-seal wrote to Bristol, in the king's name, desiring he would not obey the writ of summons. This letter the earl presented, with a second petition, to the house of peers, desiring their permission to exhibit articles of accusation against the duke of Buck-

The king accuses the earl of Bristol.

A. C. 1626. Buckingham, who (he affirmed) had abused the late king as well as his present majesty, the nation, and the parliament. Charles, incensed at his presumption, sent a message to the lords, declaring he intended to impeach the earl of Bristol of high treason. That nobleman was immediately taken into custody, and brought to the bar of the house, where the solicitor-general read the articles of accusation, in the name of the king, who had corrected them with his own hand. At the same time the house received the earl's impeachment of Buckingham, and lord Conway, secretary of state. The king's accusation of Bristol was divided into three parts, including his conduct before his embassy to Spain, his behaviour during that embassy, and his demeanour since his return to England: but he acquitted himself in such a manner as reflected very little honour on his accusers.

Commons
impeach the
duke of
Buckingham.

In a few days after this trial, the commons prepared articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham; and Sir Dudley Diggs accused him in the house of peers of malversations, misprisions of treason, and divers other crimes and offences, specified in thirteen articles, which amounted to nothing more than the practice of buying and selling places of honour and profit; to his having in one instance extorted money from the East-India company; and administered a plaister and medicines to the late king in his last illness, without the knowledge of the physicians. The charge was supported by Sir John Elliot, who exaggerated every circumstance of the impeachment, and spoke with great virulence and contempt of Buckingham. He and Diggs were next day committed prisoners to the Tower; and the king was so imprudent as to declare, in the house of lords, that he himself would be an evidence to clear the duke of every article in the impeachment. The commons, exasperated at the

the imprisonment of their members, on pretence of their having spoken disrespectfully of the king, signed a protest, importing, That Sir Dudley Diggs had not spoken the words of which he was accused; and they publicly declared, that neither he nor Elliot had exceeded their commission. The king, who had hoped to intimidate the house, finding himself disappointed, thought proper to release the members; and the house of peers presented an address, desiring that he would also set at liberty the earl of Arundel, who had been taken into custody for the same offence. The king was very unwilling to comply with their request; but, they repeating their demand, and insisting upon the commitment's being a breach of privilege, he consented to the earl's discharge, though not without great reluctance.

In the midst of these transactions, the office of chancellor in the university of Cambridge becoming vacant by the death of the earl of Suffolk, the duke of Buckingham was, by the king's interest, chosen his successor; a circumstance that gave great offence to the commons, who justly complained of his being elected at a time when his impeachment was depending, and the plurality of his places formed one article of his accusation. It was certainly a very impolitic mark of the king's contempt of his accusers. At length the duke delivered his answer to the impeachment, of which the commons demanded a copy: but Charles, in order to divert their attention from this object, wrote a letter to the speaker, insisting upon their passing the bill for the subsidy, without any condition, before the end of next week; otherwise he should be obliged to take other measures, as his occasions were too importunate to admit of the least delay. The lower house, instead of obeying this command, sent up a petition against popish recusants, containing a list of
nine

A. C. 1626. nine and fifty professed or reputed papists, who enjoyed offices under the government. They afterwards demanded an audience of the king, to whom the speaker delivered a declaration, justifying their conduct, and a petition requesting that the duke of Buckingham might be removed from his majesty's councils and person. Charles, shocked at the nature and freedom of this address, resolved to dismiss the parliament; and the commons, receiving intimation of his design, drew up a remonstrance, of which every member was furnished with a copy. The lords, apprized of the king's resolution, attempted by an address to divert him from his purpose, which however he executed by an immediate dissolution of the parliament. In the remonstrance, which was chiefly levelled against the duke of Buckingham, the commons complained of the dissolution of the former parliaments: Of the king's hinting a design of laying them intirely aside: Of his having levied the tax of tonnage and poundage, which had expired with his father, without being renewed by the commons. They conjured him to give up the duke to the justice of the nation, and remove him intirely from his councils; otherwise all the money they could grant, would, by his misapplication, redound to the prejudice of the kingdom. Charles published a declaration to justify the dissolution: he alledged that, by means of some turbulent spirits in the lower house, the commons, instead of enabling him to support the war in which he was engaged by the counsel of parliament, disregarded all his letters and messages touching the necessity of a present supply, employing their whole attention in prosecuting his innocent servants, and endeavouring to entrench upon his prerogative.

Charles inherited all his father's sublime notions of the kingly power, and entertained a contempt for the commons which James would never venture to avow.

avow. His temper was more inflexible, his mind more resolute than that of his father; and he thought his glory, his duty to his successors, was interested in opposing and preventing the encroachments of the parliament. He now issued a proclamation for suppressing the remonstrance; and another forbidding all disputes for or against Arminianism: then he ordered the attorney-general to present an information against Buckingham in the Star-chamber, for having administered medicines to the late king; but this cause was never decided. In order to supply the want of parliamentary subsidies, he established a commission for compounding with popish recusants. He renewed all the leases of the crown tenants; he borrowed a certain sum from every peer; and demanded of the city of London a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, which was refused. He laid a tax upon the sea-ports, for equipping a fleet to protect the trade of the nation; and he continued to exact the tonnage and poundage. He declared the kingdom was threatened with an invasion; ordained a fast to avert the judgments of God; and raised a body of troops, on pretence of defending the nation. On the twenty-seventh day of August, his uncle, the king of Denmark, whom he had engaged in the alliance against the emperor, was totally defeated by the count de Tilly, who took all his baggage and artillery; and Charles was obliged to find money to repair this disaster. For this purpose he could devise no expedient so feasible as that of a general loan: commissioners were immediately appointed, and sent into the different counties, with instructions to demand a certain sum from each individual, according to his estate; to examine upon oath those who should refuse to comply, that it might be known, whether or not any person or persons had tampered with them, to excuse themselves from assisting the king in his necessities; and

The King
practises ar-
bitrary me-
thods of rais-
ing money.

A. C. 1626. to transmit to the council the names, quality, and places of habitation of those who should prove refractory. A list of the voluntary subscribers was published, with a view to influence others by their example: all the nobility and persons of fortune were ordered to remain at their country-houses, until the subscription should be finished; and, with a view to intimidate the subjects from a refusal, Sir Randolph Crew, the lord chief justice, was divested of his office, because he had expressed a dislike to this imposition. Over and above this instance of severity, soldiers were quartered upon the houses of those who were backward in their contributions; and when they were insulted or injured by those troublesome guests, they could not appeal to the ordinary courts of justice, but were obliged to crave redress from a council of war, which the king had instituted for the regulation of the army. Notwithstanding these precautions, the money came so slowly into the exchequer, that the council thought proper to use more violent methods. Those tradesmen and burghers who rejected the loan were enlisted as soldiers; and persons of a higher rank were, upon their second refusal, sent as exiles into those counties that were at the greatest distance from the places of their habitation: nay, such as refused to submit to this sentence, were imprisoned in London. Venal clergymen were employed to preach up passive obedience and non-resistance. Sibthorp declared from the pulpit, that subjects were punishable for refusing to obey the commands of their sovereign, even though these commands should be contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and of the nation. Manwaring affirmed, that the king was not obliged to observe the laws of the kingdom; but that subjects were bound in conscience to obey him, without restriction, on pain of eternal damnation. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended

pended from all his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to his country-house, for having refused to licence Sibthorp's sermon. Manwaring, being in the following parliament condemned by the house of lords to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to make public recantation at the bars of both houses, to be imprisoned, suspended, and declared incapable of any employment civil or ecclesiastical, was nevertheless pardoned by the king, and in the sequel promoted to a bishopric.

A. C. 1627

Franklyn.
Rushworth,

Such conduct could not fail to raise a ferment in the nation; and the only prospect the king could have of freeing himself from all his troubles, was by a speedy peace with Spain, and an hearty reconciliation with the commons. He was extremely averse to both these measures. He had not yet gratified Buckingham's revenge against the count de Olivarez; and he himself deeply resented the insolence of the lower house, which had taken such unprecedented liberties with his prerogative and administration. One would imagine his favourite had been bent upon his ruin. Instead of disengaging him from the destructive war in which he was already involved, he entailed upon him another enemy still more formidable than the house of Austria. Buckingham, in his embassy to Paris, had aspired in his gallantry even to the person of the queen of France, Anne of Austria, wife of Lewis XIII. He is said to have made an impression on the heart of that princess, and incurred the jealousy of cardinal de Richlieu, who took immediate steps for preventing the prosecution of his amour, and laid snares for the life of the English minister. The duke being apprized of his designs, denounced vengeance against the cardinal; and at his return to England instigated his sovereign to declare war against France. Such at least was the supposed cause of this rupture; and Buckingham was of a disposition very apt to be

A. C. 1627. influenced by motives of this nature. The queen's chaplains and domestics were dismissed, in open violation of the marriage-contract. The duke imagined this affront would incite the French king to commit hostilities: but that monarch contented himself with remonstrating against the contravention of the treaty. At length a pretext was found by the minister. Charles declared in council his resolution to engage in a war with France, because that court had refused to grant a passage to the English troops under the count of Mansfeldt: because it oppressed the Huguenots; and the French fleet had made prize of some English vessels. Monsieur de Soubize, brother to the duke de Rohan, solicited succours for the inhabitants of Rochelle, who were threatened with a siege; and a strong armament being equipped for that service, the duke of Buckingham, as admiral and commander in chief, set sail from Portsmouth in the beginning of July.

War with
France,

Disgraceful
expedition
to the isle of
Rhé.

The Rochellers, who had received no previous hint of this expedition, refused to admit the English succours into their town, on pretence that they could not take such a material resolution without the concurrence of the other protestants with whom they were associated; but, in reality, they were afraid of their allies, suspecting that Soubize and Blancard, who managed their affairs at the court of Charles, had agreed to betray the place into the hands of the English. Buckingham thus disappointed, steered his course to the isle of Rhé, and landing with seven thousand men, obliged Tóiras the French officer, who commanded in that place, to retire into the fort of St. Martin. Had this been immediately attacked, in all probability he would have been forced to surrender: but the duke, being totally ignorant of the art of war, gave him time to provide for his defence; and the siege was undertaken in form. The French court no sooner heard

heard of this invasion, than the count de Schomberg was dispatched with six or seven thousand men to the isle of Rhé, which he entered without opposition from the English navy; and obliged Buckingham to raise the siege with such precipitation, that two-thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could reembark, tho' he himself was the last man that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace and disaster which his country sustained from his misconduct; and for the hatred and curses of his fellow-subjects.

A. C. 1627.

Clarendon.
Rushworth.

Charles not yet discouraged by this miscarriage, resolved to renew his efforts against France; and the inhabitants of Rochelle finding themselves on the eve of a siege, craved succours with the most earnest solicitations. The king proposed to comply with their request; but his finances were altogether exhausted, and almost all his mariners and soldiers had deserted the service for want of pay. He had exercised such acts of severity upon those who refused the loan, that he had nothing to expect from a parliament but the most vigorous opposition. Sir John Elliot had presented a petition to the king, demanding his enlargement; but no regard was paid to his remonstrance. Five other gentlemen, imprisoned for the same refusal, made the like demand, not as a favour, but as the privilege of English subjects; no cause having been assigned for their commitment. This affair was brought to a solemn trial before all the judges of the realm, who refused to admit them to bail by virtue of a Habeas corpus, and remanded them to prison. After these acts of arbitrary power, Charles had very little reason to hope for condescension in the parliament. Nevertheless, such was the emergency of his affairs, that, by the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, he issued out writs for convoking that

A third parliament convoked.

A. C. 1627. assembly. He recalled archbishop Abbot from his country-house, to which he had been confined; released the bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Bristol; and set at liberty all those who were imprisoned on account of the loan, to the number of seven and twenty. The majority of these were returned as members of the new parliament, which met about the middle of March.

A. C. 1628. The king, in his first speech to both houses, told them that they were convoked on purpose to grant the necessary supplies; and that, should they neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he should, in discharge of his conscience, use those means that God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. The lord-keeper, as usual, enlarged upon the king's text. He explained the situation of all the European powers; expatiated upon the ambition of the house of Austria, the perfidy of the French court, and the danger to which the British dominions were exposed from such formidable adversaries. He exaggerated the wants and extolled the merits of his majesty. He repeated the ridiculous plea of the war's having been originally undertaken by advice of parliament. He reminded them of the king's threats, in case of their disobedience; and conjured them to be neither tardy nor sparing in their supplies. The commons began, as in the last parliament, with the grievances of the nation, particularly the practice of billeting soldiers, extorting loans, imprisoning those that refused to lend, and rejecting the privilege of the Habeas corpus, by which the English subject is admitted to bail. Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Edward Coke, distinguished themselves on this occasion by the freedom of their reflections. The first of these, among

Violent opposition in the house of commons.

among other expressions of the same nature, said, A. C. 1628.
 " How can we express our affections while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give?" Wentworth exclaimed, " They have taken from us, what shall I say? indeed, what have they left us! by tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us all means of supplying the king? and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of duty and attachment." " O improvident ancestors! (cried Philips) O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and at the same time to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison during pleasure, without redress or remedy? If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, and property? what may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?" Sir Edward Coke quoted statutes to prove the king had no power to levy taxes by extorted loans; and he repeated an article of the great charter, importing, That no freeman shall be arrested, imprisoned, or disseised of his freehold, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. In vain did the partisans of the court endeavour to mollify those demagogues, and persuade them to begin with a supply. In vain did secretary Cook present certain propositions from the king: the house refused to hear them, till they should have discussed the subject of grievances. In opposition to the king's petitions, and to the determination of the judges, they voted, That no subject should be imprisoned or arrested without cause shewn; and, That the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the Habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king or council: That every freeman has,

A. C. 1628. by ancient and indubitable right, the absolute and intire property of his own estate : and, That no tax, talliage, loan, or benevolence, can be imposed by any other authority than of parliament. Then they allowed the secretary to read the king's popositions, demanding, That they would equip thirty ships for the defence of the coasts : ten for the assistance of Rochelle, and the like number to guard the Elbe, the Sound, and the Baltick : that they would provide for the subsistence of eleven thousand men destined for an expedition abroad ; and for six thousand to be sent as auxiliaries to the king of Denmark : that they would furnish the forts and magazines with necessary stores and ammunition : to cause twenty ships to be yearly built as a reinforcement to the navy : repair the fortified places, pay the arrears due to the train of artillery, the victualling-office, the fleet, and the merchants, whose vessels had been employed in the service : and lastly, form a magazine for the land-forces.

The commons, without entering into a discussion of particular articles, resolved to grant a powerful supply ; and then resumed the consideration of grievances. As the council had confined to their own houses several individuals who refused the loan, and sent others to serve abroad in the army, the house resolved that no free subject could be arrested or exiled to any place whatsoever, by order of the king and council, without the concurring authority of the laws of the land, or act of parliament. The king beginning to be apprehensive of this spirit in the commons, sent secretary Cook with two successive soothing messages, in consequence of which they resolved to grant five subsidies ; but immediately returned to the old subject, and demanded a conference with the upper house. Charles still pressed the affairs of the subsidies, in repeated messages

mixed with threats ; and the court members endeavoured to intimidate the opposition, by hinting the danger of the king's being induced to govern altogether without parliaments. The commons were alarmed, not affrighted. They presented a petition against the new method of quartering soldiers in private houses ; but, instead of answering it, he exhorted them to proceed without loss of time upon the supply. Their obstinacy increased in proportion to his impatience. They determined to sell their subsidies for some valuable consideration. They prepared another remonstrance, intitled, The petition of right, in order to ascertain the liberties of the subject ; and sent it up to the lords for their perusal and concurrence. The upper house proposed some alterations, which the other absolutely rejected.

They prepare the petition of right ;

The king summoned the lords and commons to White-hall, where the lord-keeper, in his name, told them, That his majesty looked upon the great charter, and the six explanatory statutes, as unalterable constitutions actually in force : That he would maintain his subjects in the liberty of their persons and estates : and, That he would govern according to the laws and statutes of the realm. He assured them they would find as much security in his royal word and promise, as in any statute they could enact ; and desired they would unanimously concur in dispatching the principal affair. The commons were not pleased with this declaration, which they considered as a subterfuge to elude their intention. Sir Thomas Wentworth observed, That they must not only be satisfied themselves, but also do something for the satisfaction of posterity ; and, that as their laws and liberties had been publicly violated, it was necessary to demand a public reparation. They were again importuned by messages, and given to understand that the session should not con-

A. C. 1628. continue a fortnight longer. They still stood firm to their purpose. The speaker, in his address of thanks to the king for his having declared his intention to rule according to law, desired to know if he would give his royal assent to a bill for the security of their rights and privileges. The lord-keeper answered, in the king's name, That his majesty's word was better than a bill, which, however, they might prepare, for confirming the great charter and the six statutes; but without explanation, addition, or paraphrase. The petition being drawn up, the commons fixed the time for the payment of the subsidies, that the king might have no cause to complain of their backwardness on that subject; and that same day sent the petition to the upper house, demanding the concurrence of the lords. In a conference between the two houses, the lord-keeper produced a letter from the king to the peers, declaring his resolution to forbear for the future from imprisoning any person on account of his refusing to lend money, or for any other cause that did not immediately affect the public weal. He likewise promised that the cause of imprisonment should be always specified; and the party admitted to bail, according to the laws of the kingdom. As the lower house took no notice of this letter, the lords proposed an additional clause to the petition; but the commons rejecting it, they did not insist upon its being admitted. Then the two houses resolved to present the petition, and beseech his majesty to vouchsafe an answer in full parliament, that it might be registered as a fundamental constitution. It contained an enumeration of the statutes which had been lately violated; and an humble prayer, That no man for the future should be compelled to yield any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax without an act of parliament: That none should be confined, molested, or disquieted
for

for the refusal thereof: That his majesty would be pleased to remove the soldiers and mariners who were quartered upon private persons, and never lay such burdens on his people in time to come: That the commissioners for proceeding by martial law might be revoked and annulled; and no such commissions be issued for the future. These they demanded as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, beseeching his majesty to declare, that the proceedings to the prejudice of his people in any of the premises should not be drawn into consequence or example; and; that he would for the further comfort and safety of his people, declare, That all his officers and ministers should serve him according to the laws and statutes of the realm, as they tendered the honour of his majesty, and the prosperity of the kingdom. This petition being read before the king, his answer was in these words: "The king willeth
Rushworth,
 " that right be done, according to the laws and
 " customs of the realm, and, that the statutes be
 " put in due execution, that his subjects may
 " have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." The commons, dissatisfied with this vague and evasive reply, laid aside the bill of subsidies, and brought the subject of grievances again upon the carpet. It was at this juncture that they passed sentence upon doctor Manwaring, as we have observed above. The king having sent a message to the commons, importing, that he would make no alteration in his answer, and finish the session in a few days, they took it for granted that Buckingham had done them ill offices. Sir John Elliot rising up to speak, was silenced by the speaker, who declared he had the king's particular

A. C. 1628. lar order for that purpose. The house immediately drew up the following declaration: "That since the beginning of this parliament no member had failed in point of respect to his majesty." Then they decreed, in a committee of the whole house, that no member should retire, on pain of being committed to the Tower. The speaker, however, being permitted to withdraw, went immediately to the king, and informed him of these proceedings. Mean while they deliberated upon a remonstrance to his majesty, in which the duke of Buckingham should be accused as the principal cause of all the misfortunes of the nation. The keeper returned with the king's order to adjourn till next day, when he delivered another message, signifying, That his majesty had no intention to deprive them of their just rights, but only to prevent their blaming his council, his past conduct, and his ministers. He desired they would not proceed upon business which would require more time than he had allotted; and promised that should he and they part in good understanding, he would soon call them together again, when they might consider other affairs at their leisure. Without regarding his promise or request, they proceeded with the remonstrance, and demanded the concurrence of the lords, in beseeching his majesty to give a more clear and satisfactory answer to the petition of right. Charles, thus solicited by both houses, thought proper to comply with their request; and the petition of right being read again in his hearing, he pronounced the usual form of assent, "Let it be right, as is desired." This concession was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of subsidies, which was passed immediately. Yet their ill humour did not abate.

To which
the king
gives his
assent.

If,

If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with A. C. 1628. having formed a design to render himself absolute, it must likewise be owned, that the leaders of this parliament seemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. This confirmation of their rights and privileges was so well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the demagogues began to fear the king would become popular. They therefore resolved to finish the remonstrance, and insert in it every shadow or suspicion of a grievance, which might help to inspire the subject with hatred and contempt of his sovereign. They discovered an order of the king for the payment of thirty thousand pounds to Sir William Balfour and Sir John Dolbeir, who had raised a body of German cavalry to be transported into England. They examined a commission granted to certain persons, empowering them to devise ways and means for raising money, either by imposition on the people, or otherwise. They set on foot an enquiry into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; and they had recourse to the article of religion, as the most inflammatory ingredient that could be mingled in their remonstrance. They resolved, That the duke of Buckingham was the cause of all the national disasters, including the growth of popery: and, That Neale and Laud, bishops of Winchester and Bath, were the protectors of Arminianism. All these circumstances were inserted in the remonstrance, together with a minute recapitulation of all the miscarriages by sea and land; and every instance of arbitrary exaction and misconduct, which they imputed to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham. The king received this address with the most sensible chagrin; and afterwards gave the lower house to understand, that he would put an end to the session on the twenty-sixth day of the month. The commons forthwith began to prepare another

A. C. 1628. another remonstrance against the king's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. They represented, That this imposition was of the nature of other subsidies granted by the commons; an hereditary right inherent in the subjects, founded upon the antient and original constitution of the kingdom, confirmed by divers statutes. They declared, That the exaction of those duties upon merchandise, or any other tax, without the consent of parliament, was a violation of the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and incongruous with his majesty's answer to the petition of right. The king being made acquainted with the purport of this second remonstrance, repaired to the house of peers, and sent for the commons. He reminded both houses of their having protested, in their petition of right, that they had no intention to encroach upon his prerogative, which was not indeed in their power. He now declared, That in his answer to the petition, he did not mean to grant any new privilege to his people: nor would he part with the tonnage and poundage, which was one of the chief supports of his crown. Then he gave his assent to the bill of subsidies, and prorogued the parliament to the twentieth day of October.

Prorogation
of parliament.

Rushworth.

After their dismissal, he recalled the copies of Manwaring's sermon, which had given such offence, and ordered some Jesuits to be imprisoned; but, on the other hand, he established a commission for compounding with popish recusants. Weston, a professed papist, was created lord high-treasurer, and afterwards earl of Portland; Laud was translated to the bishopric of London, and Montague, author of the appeal to Cæsar, was promoted to the see of Chichester. A considerable armament had been equipped for the relief of Rochelle, which was now closely besieged. The
earl

earl of Denbigh had failed thither ; but neglected to attack the French fleet, and returned with dishonour. In order to wipe out this stain, the duke of Buckingham resolved to take the command upon himself, and repaired to Portsmouth, where the fleet and forces were already prepared for the expedition. On the festival of St. Bartholomew, in the morning, the duke had been in earnest conversation with Monsieur de Soubize, and some other French gentlemen, who used such gesticulations in speaking, according to the custom of their country, that the by-standers, who did not understand the French language, imagined they spoke with great animosity. Immediately after this discourse, Buckingham, in going to another apartment, turned about in the passage to speak with Sir Thomas Fryar. In this posture he was stabbed by an unseen hand, that left a knife sticking in his breast. He exclaimed " The villain hath killed me !" and drawing the instrument from the wound, dropped dead upon the floor. The house was immediately filled with tumult and consternation. The French gentlemen were immediately seized upon suspicion of having perpetrated the murder, because they had been heard to expostulate with such vivacity. Near the door was found an hat, within which appeared a paper, inscribed with four or five lines of the remonstrance, declaring the duke of Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom ; and underneath were some short ejaculations. No body doubted that this hat belonged to the assassin, who was seen walking before the gate with great composure ; and at once confessed himself the author of the deed. Some of the duke's officers drew their swords, in order to sacrifice him on the spot, and he stood with open arms to receive his fate:

but

Duke of
Buckingham
assassinated at
Portsmouth.

A. C. 1628. but they were prevented from executing their purpose by the interposition of others, who prudently suggested that he might make very material discoveries. His name was Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had served as lieutenant in the expedition to the isle of Rhé; and his captain being slain, solicited the command of the company, which the duke bestowed upon another person. Felton considered his disappointment as an affront and injury which could not be redressed. It made a deep impression on his mind, which was of a gloomy cast. He quitted the service, became a fanatic in religion; and when the commons published their remonstrance, he looked upon it as an act of duty to destroy the person whom they declared the author of every national calamity. This reflexion, co-operating with his revenge, produced the most desperate enthusiasm, under the influence of which he repaired to Portsmouth, where he easily found an opportunity of executing his purpose among the croud of people who had daily access to the duke's apartments. He declared that no person was privy to his design, which was formed purely on conscientious motives; and he seemed to think he had done his country signal service; but afterwards, at his trial he expressed great contrition and abhorrence of his guilt. The king was then at Southwick, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth; and being at prayers when Sir John Hippeley entered the room, and in a whisper made him acquainted with the deplorable fate of his favourite, he received the tidings without change of countenance; but the service was no sooner ended than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to the most violent transports of sorrow. Such were the natural effects of a warm and friendly disposition: but he had much more cause to rejoice at the death
of

of a man, whose life must have been a perpetual cause of distrust and contention between the sovereign and the people. He was a nobleman possessed of every personal accomplishment, whether natural or acquired. His apprehension was quick, and his understanding tolerably cultivated; he was brave, courteous, and liberal; but, fiery, rash, impetuous, overbearing, and so much a slave to his passions, that he scrupled not to sacrifice the interest of the nation to his own private views of resentment. After Buckingham's death, the earl of Lindsey was appointed admiral and commander of the fleet and army destined for the relief of Rochelle; but before he reached the coast of France, the cardinal de Richelieu had built a surprising mole across the mouth of the harbour, which effectually excluded the English succours; so that the inhabitants were obliged to surrender at discretion, even in sight of their allies.

Clarendon.

A. C. 1629.

The parliament reassembling in January, a committee of commons was appointed to examine the case of several merchants whose effects had been seized by the officers of the customs, because they refused to pay the duty of tonnage and poundage. The king convening both houses at Whitehall, declared that he had never entertained a thought of enjoying that subsidy otherwise than as a voluntary gift of his people; and desired that all mutual jealousy might be laid aside. In a few days he sent a message to the commons, requesting they would pass the bill of tonnage and poundage; but they pretended the affairs of religion were much more pressing. They complained that the laws were not executed against popish recusants; that, on the contrary, papists were favoured with lucrative employments; that something was daily added to the ceremonies of religion; that Cozens, dean of Durham, had introduced into his church, angels, saints,

N^o 63.

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altars,

A. C. 1629

Commons
enquire into
religious
grievances.

altars, and lighted tapers on Candlemas-day; and that Arminianism was greatly encouraged. Notwithstanding repeated messages from the king, urging them to proceed with the bill of tonnage and poundage, they set on foot an inquiry into the cause of these religious grievances. They, in a formal protestation, expressed their belief in the thirty-nine articles, as explained by the doctors of the English church; and their abhorrence of the opinions and doctrines adopted by Jesuits and Arminians. They solicited the king to proclaim a fast; and presented an address, containing a sort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of business, in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their aversion, being now removed, their resentment glowed with double rancour against Laud bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of the hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose influence Montague, Corzons, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, had been pardoned and even promoted to bishoprics or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an implacable foe not only to the puritans, but also to the liberty of his country.

While the commons were employed in examining these religious grievances, the warehouse of one Rolls, a merchant, and member of the house, was sealed up by the officers of the customs, because he had refused to pay the tonnage and poundage. A process was already instituted in the court of exchequer against those recusants; and now the commons sent a message to the barons of that court, importing, That they had resolved the bill of tonnage and poundage should not be discussed, until the goods should be restored to the proprietors.

The

The officer of the customs, being questioned at the bar of the house, declared his majesty had commanded him to make no other reply, but that the goods were seized for duties due to his late majesty. In a committee of the whole house the question was proposed, Whether they should proceed against the officer of the customs? Violent debates ensued; and Sir John Finch, the speaker, being desired to put the question to the vote, said he could not comply without disobeying the king's order. They were immediately adjourned to the twenty-fifth day of February, and afterwards to the second of March, by the king's order. When they met again, the same affair was brought upon the carpet: the speaker again refused to collect the votes: he declared, in the king's name, that the house was adjourned to the tenth day of March, and attempted to withdraw; but was forcibly held in the chair by Holles and Valentine, until the majority had, in a tumultuous manner, passed a protestation, by which all the favourers of popery and Arminianism, all those who advised or assisted the king in levying tonnage and poundage before it was granted by parliament, and all persons submitting to the payment of it, were declared enemies to the state, and traitors to the liberties of England. As the king had nothing to expect from such a session, he was not sorry for this pretence to dissolve the parliament, and published a proclamation, signifying his intention on this subject. Next day nine members of the lower house were summoned to appear before the council; four of these obeyed the citation, and were committed to the Tower, because they refused to give an account of what had passed in their house when the speaker was detained in the chair. The papers of Holles, Elliot, and Selden, were seized; and a proclamation issued for arresting the five that did not ap-

A. C. 1629.

The parliament dissolved.

pear. On the tenth day of March the king came to the house, and dissolved the parliament, after a short speech, in which he thanked the lords for their dutiful and submissive behaviour, and declared his resentment against some vipers in the lower house, who had blinded the eyes of their fellows with the mist of insolence and sedition.

Prosecution of the members.

That he might not seem to exert a despotic power in punishing those leaders of the people, he proposed certain questions to the judges; and, according to their answers, ordered the attorney-general to raise a process against the imprisoned members for their violent, unlawful, and seditious behaviour in the house of commons. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber for having said that the merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turkey; and condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was sentenced to pay two thousand pounds for having violated his oath, in sitting as a member in the lower house, after he had been sworn sheriff of Wiltshire. The imprisoned members in vain demanded the privilege of the Habeas Corpus: they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's-bench decreed that they should remain in prison during the king's pleasure. Elliot was moreover cast in a fine of two thousand pounds, Valentine in one of five hundred, and Holles obliged to pay a thousand marks. Such arbitrary and unpopular measures could not fail to inflame the public discontent. The populace murmured openly, and dispersed libels against bishop Laud, and lord Weston the treasurer, as the authors of all those violent counsels. The king published a long declaration in his own defence, justifying the steps he had taken, and in particular the dissolution of the parliament; from the insolent and seditious conduct of the

the members: but this apology had little weight with the nation; the imprisoned members were looked upon as martyrs to the liberties of the people. The dispute was considered as a contest between the crown and the subjects; no wonder therefore that the king's partisans were not the most numerous. Individuals were heard publicly to complain that the king intended to destroy the privileges of parliament; that commerce was ruined, religion in danger, and the kingdom on the brink of slavery, from which nothing could save it but a new parliament. Charles, informed of these clamours, endeavoured to silence them by a proclamation, forbidding all persons to discourse upon the subject of a new parliament; and a satyrical performance appearing, under the title of Advice to the king to bridle the insolence of parliaments, the Star-chamber declared it a seditious libel.

Charles finding it impracticable to maintain the war without subsidies, resolved to conclude a peace with France, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Venice, on condition that the articles of the queen's marriage should be confirmed; and the Huguenots were left to the mercy of their sovereign. Since the beginning of this war France and Spain had acted altogether on the defensive: they knew the disputes between Charles and his parliament would disable him from executing any important scheme to their prejudice; and they would not concert any plan of operation against him, that might unite the kingdom from a sense of common danger: they even dismissed the English prisoners, who had been taken in the inglorious expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. The peace with France was succeeded by a treaty with Spain, which was next year ratified without any difficulty. The five subsidies, granted by parliament, produced so little, that the king ordered the

Peace with
France and
Spain.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

A. C. 1629. tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The custom-house officers were impowered to enter houses, and break open warehouses, chests, and closets, to search for goods which had not payed the duty; and, on this pretence of searching, they committed numberless acts of fraud and oppression. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing insurrections, the council issued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amused with public orders for putting the laws in execution against papists. At the same time the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting exclusive privileges for the sale of commodities and provisions: so that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the unspeakable prejudice of trade and manufacture.

A. C. 1630. Presbyterianism having made great progress in England, the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take especial care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such as should neglect the rites prescribed in the canons. The presbyterians conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud for this and other instances of his enmity, and he severely felt their resentment in the sequel †.

Gustavus
Adolphus
enters Ger-
many, as
protector of
the protes-
tants.

The power of the house of Austria was now become so formidable in Germany, that all the neighbouring potentates were alarmed; and no prince seemed so well qualified to bridle its ambition as Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden; upon him therefore France and England turned their eyes. He was animated with a desire to support

† On the twenty-ninth day of May the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptised by the name of Charles,

the

A. C. 1630.

the liberties of the empire ; but employed in a war with Poland, which for the present hindered him from gratifying that inclination. The dispute was compromised by the mediation of the two crowns. The French court considered him as a proper instrument to check the growth of a rival power ; and Charles of England hoped by his means to effect the restoration of the Palatine. He engaged with Gustavus in a private convention for this purpose, and supplied him with a reinforcement of six thousand men, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, in whose name they were levied, that the king might save appearances with the house of Austria. The Swede, however, did not perform his engagements : for, after he had obtained several glorious victories, he refused to restore the king of Bohemia, except upon such harsh conditions as that prince could not accept with any regard to his honour. Charles, perceiving that he had been duped, withdrew his forces, which had done good service, and recalled Vane, who had accompanied the king of Sweden, in quality of English ambassador.

Engages to restore the elector Palatine ;

but does not perform his engagement,

Among the methods practised by Charles to raise money, was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those, who though summoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, That every man possessed of twenty pounds a year in land, should be knighted : almost all the succeeding monarchs had put the law in execution. Charles, considering the difference of value in money between that reign and the present time, summoned those only whose yearly rent amounted to forty pounds : yet even this mitigation was deemed a hardship, because the value of twenty pounds, in the days of Edward, was equal to four times the sum in the reign of Charles. A great

Rushworth.

A. C. 1632. number had therefore refused to obey the mandate, and these were now fined for their disobedience. A considerable sum was likewise exacted by way of composition from those who declined the order. This was likewise a subject of discontent, though not so inflammatory as the conduct of Laud with respect to religion. That prelate, tho' irreproachable in his morals, was, either from superstition or hatred to the puritans, inflexibly attached to certain idle ceremonies, which gave infinite offence to all the fanatics in England. These appeared as flagrant innovations, at the consecration of St. Catharine's church. When he approached the west door, a loud voice was heard, exclaiming, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in!" The gates were instantly thrown open: when the bishop entering, fell on his knees; and with his eyes and hands up-raised, exclaimed, "This place is holy, the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." In his way to the chancel he several times took up an handful of dust, and threw it in the air; he bowed frequently at the communion-table; he, with his attendants, walked in procession around the church, singing psalms; he repeated a form of prayer, and pronounced these words with a loud voice, "We consecrate this church; and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned by common uses." Standing by the communion-table, he solemnly anathematized all who should pollute that sacred place; and poured forth benedictions upon those who had contributed to build and adorn the edifice. In the close of every curse and blessing he bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen." After the sermon he proceeded to administer the sacrament: in advancing to the communion-table he made several genuflexions, and bowed seven times

Laud's attachment to superstitious ceremonies.

times very low to the bread and wine. Having A. C. 1632. lifted up the corner of a cloth that covered the Eucharist, he dropped it suddenly; and, retreating three paces, bowed three times almost to prostration. Then he advanced again, uncovered the bread, and made another profound reverence. The same ceremonies were observed in uncovering and taking up the cup that held the wine; and he himself having communicated, administered the sacrament to some of the by-standers. One would imagine Laud had practised this mummary, which was copied from a Roman pontifical, on purpose to exasperate the people; for he knew that no such ceremonies had been performed in the English church since the reformation; and he could not be so weak as to believe this grimace essential to religion. Whatever were his motives, certain it is he was a very improper person to be at the head of the church at this juncture, and a very pernicious spiritual guide to the king, whose conscience he ruled with the most despotic authority. Possessed of this pre-eminence he disregarded the clamours of the people, and set his enemies at defiance. Three doctors in theology at Oxford having preached against Arminianism, were expelled from the university; and others, who undertook to defend them, were by his influence deprived of their places. While the administration of the hierarchy was left to his charge, he and his adherents humoured the king in his high notions of the prerogative, of which, however, they resolved to render the ecclesiastical power altogether independent. The sacerdotal character was represented Rushworth. as sacred and indefeasible. Ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own names, without any reference or regard to the regal authority: and Charles winked at these encroachments in a set of men who seemed, in all other respects, implicitly devoted to his crown and person.

He

A. C. 1632.

He continued to sell patents under the great seal. He erected a company of soap-makers : he derived a considerable advantage from stamping cards ; and even granted an exclusive privilege to a monopoly of rag-merchants. He issued a proclamation, commanding all noblemen, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and others, to retire in forty days to the different places of their residence, that they might not consume their means unprofitably in London, unless they had particular business in that capital ; and those who disobeyed his order, the Star-chamber summoned and fined in large sums for the use of his majesty. He, at the same time, appointed commissioners to punish those who had augmented London with new buildings, in contempt of former prohibitions. London itself was condemned in a fine of fifteen hundred marks, for having neglected to take cognizance of the death of one Lamb, a supposed conjurer, who had been maltreated by the populace. While the state puritans were persecuted by the Star-chamber and other courts of justice, the high commission and bishops courts kept a severe hand over the presbyterians, who seemed to thrive under the rod of correction. Being generally fanatics, they were easily provoked to some inordinate sallies of enthusiasm, that furnished pretence for the severities they underwent both in person and estate. Sherfield, recorder of Salisbury, was fined in five hundred pounds by the Star-chamber, because he had broke a pane of glass in a window of St. Edmund's church, where the history of the creation was painted, and God the Father represented in the form of an old man. This picture, which was executed in a wretched manner, gave offence to Sherfield ; who, with the consent of the vestry, employed a glazier to remove it. In giving directions, he broke one of the panes with his staff, and was immediately prosecuted by the Attorney-general, for having,

The puritans treated with rigour.

ing, contrary to the canons, presumed to make an alteration in a church, without a special licence from the ordinary. A. C. 1532.

These instances of rigour could not fail to irritate the people, and even alienate the minds of many from the church that practised such severity; and yet the church of England is of all others the most charitable and averse to cruelty and persecution; but few persons were qualified to make proper distinctions between the principles and tenets of the church, and the characters of individual pastors: Charles, in order to weaken the spirit of democracy, endeavoured to disunite the councils of the demagogues; and actually gained over to his interest Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been one of the principal leaders of the opposition. He soon became one of the most zealous partisans of the regal power; and, at last, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and resentment of that house whose deliberations he had so greatly influenced. In the mean time, the king created him president of the council of the North, a court of judicature established at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor suitors in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their causes into the courts of Westminster. This court, being entirely conducted by the king's private instructions, without any other dependence, degenerated into a terrible grievance; insomuch that, in a subsequent parliament, Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, declared to the house of lords, that of fifty-eight articles of instructions, there was not one that did not either contradict or transgress the laws of the realm. The king, having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himself more at ease than he had ever been since his accession to the throne. His revenue now flowed

Sir Thomas
Wentworth
made president of the
North.

in

A. C. 1632. in certain channels. The commons became habituated to those impositions, against which they had exclaimed as the acts of arbitrary power; and tho' individuals were occasionally handled with rigour, the people in general found themselves rich and easy under his administration. Justice was upon the whole impartially distributed. Charles, in his private character, exhibited a shining example of virtue, piety, and moderation. Malice must own he was chaste, temperate, and devout; an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a warm friend, and a kind master. He paid too much deference to the opinions and solicitations of the queen, who, though an accomplished princess, was bigotted to her religion, and violent in her counsels.

A. C. 1633.

The king's
journey to
Scotland.

In this season of tranquility he resolved to visit his ancient kingdom of Scotland, where he was accordingly crowned with great magnificence; and the parliament, being assembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger subsidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. The English money had by this time found its way into Scotland, and the nobles of that country even vied with the English courtiers in the splendor of their equipage and entertainments. Charles inherited his father's design of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the English church: and bishop Laud accompanied him in this journey, to facilitate the execution of the scheme. As a preparatory step, he passed two acts in the Scottish parliament, the first intitled, An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy. This was no other than the confirmation of a statute enacted in the preceding reign, empowering the king to give such directions as he should think proper, with regard to the dress of the clergy. The other ratified and approved all the statutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchises of the true church of God, and of the

the religion at present professed in the kingdom. A. C. 1633. Both these acts met with opposition from the presbyterians : they looked upon the first as a prelude to the use of the surplice, which was an abomination in their eyes; and the words " at present professed," they considered as an equivocal expression, calculated to restore episcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial synods and general assemblies; but the bishops still subsisted, though without the least jurisdiction or influence. The bills were passed, but they produced heats and discontent in the nation. Rushworth.

The Scottish religionists were not mistaken in their conjectures. The king's purpose was really to introduce the rites of the English church, and re-establish episcopacy in its former power and splendor. Bishop Laud preached in the royal chapel at Edinburgh on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He proposed to the Scottish bishops that the English liturgy should be received into their service. They objected to this proposal, that such a step would alarm the jealousy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the English liturgy as the fore-runner of English laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom. They therefore desired that another might be composed for the use of the Scottish church, that should be the same in substance, but different in some immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud. He was himself jealous of the independency of his native kingdom; and appointed a select number of the Scottish bishops to form a new liturgy for their own service. He erected Edinburgh into a bishopric; created the archbishop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom; he admitted several other prelates to seats in the privy-council, and in the college of justice; a very unreasonable He resolves to restore episcopacy in that kingdom.

A. C. 1633. seasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy ; for the bishops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacities, could not bear to see them in civil stations, to which they themselves thought they had a better title.

Clarendon.

Laud succeeds Abbot in the see of Canterbury.

Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, dying immediately after the king's return to England, was succeeded in his metropolitan function by Laud, who now thought it incumbent upon him to enforce those ceremonies which he could not fully establish during the life of his predecessor. A strange oath had been imposed upon church-wardens, by which they obliged themselves to inform against all persons who should fail in any part of the duty that the church prescribed, as specified in a set of instructions drawn up for their direction. The presbyterians having expressed an aversion to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other vulgar festivals, partly from a gloomy disposition natural to that sect, and partly from moral considerations, as those scenes were often productive of intemperance and irregularity ; the king was persuaded to renew the proclamation of his father touching those wakes and the diversions on Sunday, which had been recommended in the book of sports*. The dean and chapter of St. Paul's removed the communion-table of St. Gregory's church, adjoining to that cathedral, from the middle of the choir to the east-end of the church, where it was railed in, under the denomination of the altar, as in cathedrals and the king's chapel. They alledged that while it stood in the middle of the choir it was exposed to scandalous indecencies from people who slept upon it during the sermon.

* In this year the queen bore a second son called James, afterwards created duke of York. The elector Palatine and his brother arrived in England ; and one Parr was presented to the king, in perfect health, at the age of one hundred and fifty-two.

This

This reason did not prove satisfactory to the parish : A. C. 1633. they prosecuted the dean and chapter in the spiritual court ; and the council ordered the judge of the arches to confirm the alteration. The king afterwards examined this affair in council, and approved the sentence by which the judgment of the court had been anticipated. The like disputes arose in many other parishes ; and the high commission court did not fail to punish those ministers who were suspected of puritanical principles.

William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, and A. C. 1634. a sour insolent puritan, composed a voluminous work, entitled, *Histrio-Mastix*, on purpose to decry stage-plays, balls, and masquerades ; interspersing in his book some virulent reflections ; which seemed levelled at the king, queen, and hierarchy. Being prosecuted in the Star-chamber, his book was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman : the author was expelled from the bar, degraded from the degree he had received at Oxford, deprived of his ears in the pillory, sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king, and to undergo perpetual imprisonment. The printer was cast in a fine of five hundred pounds ; and Abbot's chaplain, who had licensed it, was obliged to pay fifty. These severe proceedings were intended to mortify the presbyterian party, which, though numerous, was extremely odious to the king and his ministers, the privy council, the Star-chamber, the high commission, the prelates, the generality of the nobles, judges, and justices of the peace, thro' the whole kingdom. Archbishop Laud was the professed enemy not only of the British presbyterians, but likewise of the Dutch, Walloon, and French refugees, who had been formed into different congregations in England, since the reign of Edward VI. with liberty to celebrate divine service in their own forms. All the members of those congregations,

Severities
exercised a-
gainst Prynne
and other
puritans.

A. C. 1634. who had been born in the kingdom, were now enjoined to conform with the English worship; and those who were foreigners by birth, and therefore allowed to follow their own discipline, received orders to use the English liturgy translated into the French and Flemish languages, that their children might be taught in time to submit to the government. In vain did they plead their privileges granted and confirmed by four successive monarchs. In vain did they implore the archbishop's protection; he gave them to understand, that the king was determined to be obeyed; and that he would prosecute the recusants according to the laws and constitutions of the church.

A. C. 1635. The tax called ship-money had been exacted from the maritime towns, in order to equip a fleet for the protection of trade; and the city of London having been taxed at seven vessels, the mayor and common-council presented a petition to his majesty, representing, that by ancient privileges, concessions, and acts of parliament, they conceived themselves exempted from all such impositions: but, notwithstanding their pretensions, the king persisted in his resolution. He even extended it through the inland parts of the kingdom, on pretence of the nation's being in danger from a league concluded between France and the United Provinces. As the orders for levying this tax were altogether arbitrary, and in direct opposition to the king's declaration concerning the petition of right, several persons refused to contribute, and some instituted processes against the collectors, for being concerned in an illegal imposition. The king resolved to prosecute his undertaking, after having obtained the sanction of the judges, who being consulted on the subject, decided in favour of the prerogative. He at the same time renewed the commission for confirming the defective titles of those who possessed crown-lands; and

Ship-money
exacted.

Rushworth.

and such objections were made against all their A. C. 1626.
deeds, that they were fain to compound for sums of money, otherwise their possessions would have been reannexed to the crown. That a pretence might not be wanting for levying the tax of ship-money all over the kingdom, Charles published a proclamation, forbidding all foreigners to fish on the coasts of Britain, and the adjacent isles, without his special permission. He alluded to the Dutch herring-fishery, in defence of which Grotius wrote his famous treatise, intituled, *Mare liberum*; and this was answered by Selden, in a performance known by the name of *Mare clausum*.

The king, without regarding such discussions, equipped a fleet, and bestowed the command of it upon the earl of Northumberland, who attacked the fishing vessels, some of which were sunk, and the rest retiring into the ports of England, paid thirty thousand ~~for~~ ^{for}ins for the liberty to fish during that season. He likewise raised a considerable sum, by establishing a commission to inquire and discover those who had, contrary to law, converted their arable lands into pasturage. Sir Anthony Roger was for this fault condemned by the Star-chamber in such an excessive fine, as terrified all the other delinquents into immediate composition. Charles finding many persons still refractory with regard to the payment of ship-money, published the decision of the judges, who declared, that in case of national danger, the king was impowered to levy a tax for the defence of the kingdom; and that he alone was the judge of that danger, as well as of the time and manner in which it ought to be averted. Notwith-

Famous pro-
cess of John
Hambden.

standing this opinion, John Hambden, being taxed in twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in Buckinghamshire, resolved to stand suit, rather than comply with an imposition so contrary to the laws of the realm, and the liberties of the subject.

NUMB. LXIV.

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The

A. C. 1636. The cause was pleaded in the court of Exchequer before all the judges, with great solemnity, and was undoubtedly the most important dispute that ever was handled in any court of justice; for the business was to ascertain or destroy one of the most valuable privileges of the subject: as such it was considered by every sensible individual in the nation. It became the universal topic of conversation; and people expected the issue with the most anxious impatience. After several hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hamden should pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton a divine, and Bastwick a physician, were condemned by the Star-chamber to the same punishment which Prynne had undergone, for having published seditious and schismatical libels; and Prynne himself for a second offence was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and lose the remainder of his ears.

A. C. 1637. The king was not so much ingrossed by these measures as to neglect the design he had formed of altering the state of religion in Scotland. The bishops of that country employed to compose a liturgy, had begun with a book of canons; and this having been approved by Laud, the king sent it back to Scotland, as the standard of church-discipline. The pretence used for introducing this book was, that the acts of the general assembly were not in print; and could not therefore be known to the people. Nothing could be more absurd than the conduct of Charles in this whole affair. The canons, through a gross oversight of those who compiled them, enjoined conformity with the new liturgy, which was not yet composed; they were recommended as an abridgment of ecclesiastical acts; and suppose the hierarchy and jurisdiction of bishops in full force, though, for fifty years after the reformation, the general assemblies had

al-

always condemned and rejected episcopacy; and in all their acts avowed a presbyterian government. The liturgy being prepared, the king sent orders for reading it on Easter-day in all the churches at Edinburgh; but the earl of Traquair, treasurer for Scotland, representing that dangerous consequences might ensue, should the populace be surprised with it before they were prepared for its reception, the ceremony was postponed till the twenty-third day of July, when the chancellor, attended by the council, some bishops, the lords of the session, and the magistrates of the city, repaired to the cathedral to see the king's order put in execution. The dean had no sooner opened the book, and begun to read, than the populace that were in the church interrupted him with loud clamour and execrations, so as that he could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh mounting the pulpit, in order to appease them with mild remonstrances, was saluted with the same cries and curses, and a shower of stones and sticks, by which his life was endangered. The chancellor and the judges were treated with the same insolence and disrespect. At length, the magistrates of the city found means to expel the outrageous people; and the doors being locked, the service was performed, though not without continual interruption from the enraged multitude in the street. They still continued to revile the service, and threaten the prelates; they broke the church windows with stones and other missiles; and when the bishop of Edinburgh came forth, it was with great difficulty that he escaped assassination. The other churches of the city were filled with the like tumults, in which, however, no person of any rank seemed to have the least concern. A great concourse of people resorting to Edinburgh in the month of October, the council began to fear another riot, and published proclamations, signifying, That

Tumults at
Edinburgh
on account
of the litur-
gy.

A. C. 1637: the council would be transferred to Dundee; commanding all strangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book written against the English and popish ceremonies imposed upon the church of Scotland. Next day, the populace besieged the place where the council was assembled, demanding, with dreadful imprecations, that the bishop of Galloway might be delivered into their hands. At the same time, they blocked up the magistrates in the town-house: and in a petition desired that the liturgy might be suppressed; and that certain popular ministers, who had been silenced for their turbulence and seditious behaviour, should be restored to their functions. The earl of Traquair was overturned in the street, the multitude exclaiming, "God confound the liturgy and all those who maintain it." At length they dispersed, at the intreaties of some burghers, to whom they paid a particular regard; and were forbid by another proclamation to reassemble in the streets. Far from being intimidated by such mandates, they loudly demanded that their ministers should be restored. A petition was presented to the chancellor, in the name of all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, men, women, children, and servants; and another by the noblemen, gentlemen, and burghers, against the liturgy and the canons. The pulpits resounded with exclamations against them, as the preludes to popery and arbitrary power. The bishops were reviled as the ministers of satan, anti-christ, and corruption; and the populace compared to Balaam's ass, whose mouth the Lord had opened. The king, informed of these disturbances, instead of taking proper measures to allay the ferment of the nation, ordered his ministers in Scotland to publish an ambiguous proclamation, declaring his abhorrence of popish superstition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what should tend to the advancement of the religion at present professed in his kingdom of Scotland. He afterwards

wards sent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, signifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in assembling, composing, signing, and presenting, such petitions to the chancellor, provided they would retire to their own houses, and live for the future as good and faithful subjects. He forbade them to assemble again, on pain of treason; ordained, that no person should presume to approach Stirling without permission; and commanded all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council or courts of justice, to quit that town in six hours, otherwise they should be declared traitors. A. C. 1638.

Nothing could be better calculated for inflaming and exasperating that spirit of discontent and animosity, which had taken possession of the people. The commonality were averse to episcopal government from religious principles: but the noblemen and landholders were influenced by more carnal motives. They knew the king's attachment to the clergy; they had seen his late effort to restore them to their antient power and dignity; they dreaded a resumption of the crown-lands; they could not bear to see prelates introduced into the highest offices of the state; and they were inspired with a national jealousy of all innovations from England. To these, some among them added conscientious considerations; but religion was the universal pretext. The presbyterian ministers were used as tools on this occasion, to foment the popular fanaticism, by alarming their minds with the fears of popery, calumniating the bishops, and expatiating upon the chains of religious slavery that were forging for the nation. Immediately after the last proclamation was published at Stirling, the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay, accompanied by many other noblemen, and a great concourse of people, repaired to

The Scots publish a protestation against the canons and liturgy.

A. C. 1638. the market-cross, and, without regarding the presence and authority of the council, read publicly a protest, importing, That they would present their grievances to the king. That they could not submit to the bishops as judges, until they should have acquitted themselves of the crimes laid to their charge: That no proclamation or act of council, resolved upon in presence of those prelates, should prejudice the protesters: That none of their associates should be exposed to any danger in their lives and fortunes, nor incur any penalty civil or ecclesiastical, for having refused to acquiesce in the said acts, books, canons, rites, jurisdictions, and proclamations, composed and published contrary to the decrees of the general assembly, or against the laws of the realm: That, in case this dispute should produce any disorder, it should not be imputed to them; inasmuch as the council refused to receive a remonstrance and declinatory, which they had lately presented; and, that their petitions tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland, and to the honour of his majesty. The same proclamation was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

Their next step was to establish a council for the direction of their affairs. They erected four offices or tables, consisting of the noblemen, the gentlemen, the boroughs, and the ministers. From these they elected deputies, to form a general table or council to take resolutions according to the instructions received from their constituents. The whole authority of the kingdom was now lodged in these tables; and all their resolutions were executed with the utmost regularity. The first important transaction was their forming the solemn league and covenant, which was no other than an association of the people, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of all innovations in religion; binding themselves by a solemn

They subscribe the solemn league and covenant.

a solemn oath to defend the presbyterian doctrines, with their lives and fortunes; and, declaring they would employ their whole power to defend his majesty's person and authority, in maintaining the religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom against all persons whatsoever. This obligation recapitulated the confession of faith, which had been signed by the late king in two different periods of his reign; and was the more dangerous, as it implied a sort of independence of the regal authority, by restricting the loyalty of the associates to certain conditional limits. It was no sooner published than the people ran in crowds to subscribe it; and it was signed by almost all the persons of consequence in the kingdom, except the privy-counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and those who enjoyed places under the crown: so that it may be very fairly deemed a national effort in defence of religious liberty. It must be owned at the same time, that such an association was illegal and seditious, and the very intent of it contrary to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, which had been recognized in the assembly of Glasgow, as well as to successive acts of parliament, by which, during the last forty years, episcopacy had been re-established and confirmed in Scotland. The covenanters pleaded, That the recognition had been obtained by compulsion: and, That those acts of parliament were imposed by arbitrary power, without the consent of the clergy, and in diametrical opposition to the sense of the nation.

The king, notwithstanding these disorders, still persisted in his design to introduce the liturgy and canons, and sent the marquis of Hamilton to represent his person in Scotland, under the title of high commissioner, hoping that nobleman had interest and industry enough to reduce the malcontents to obedience, without giving them any material satis-

Marquis of
Hamilton
sent high-
commissioner
to Scot-
land.

A. C. 1638. faction in their pretended grievances. The tables foreseeing a storm, began to prepare for their own defence. They endeavoured to seize a ship-load of arms sent by the king to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; but, being disappointed, they set a guard upon that fortress, to prevent their being introduced: at the same time, they imported a provision of the like nature for their own use. The commissioner arriving in Scotland, demanded, that they should renounce the covenant, return to their obedience, and let the king know what they desired for their satisfaction. They insisted upon a general assembly and a free parliament; declared they had never deviated from their obedience, and that they would rather renounce their baptism than the covenant. The marquis published a proclamation, in which the king assured his subjects of Scotland, That he had no design to introduce innovations: That no step should be taken contrary to the laws: and, That he would convoke a general assembly and parliament as soon as his convenience would permit. The covenanters answered, in a public protestation, That a simple proclamation was no security for the redress of their grievances: That the bishops were still left at liberty to practise those innovations of which they complained: and, That the laws to which the king promised to conform, were such as constituted their oppression. The commissioner having informed himself of the state of affairs in Scotland, thought it incumbent upon him to communicate his observations to the king in person. He therefore repaired to London, and in a little time returned to Edinburgh, vested with power to convoke a parliament and general assembly. But, before he would agree to the convocation of an assembly, he proposed eleven articles of restriction, which, upon their remaining obstinate, were reduced to two conditions, namely,
That

That no lay-man should vote in the election of the ministers deputed to the assembly; and that the assembly should not determine any thing but by way of remonstrance, according to acts of parliament. These the covenanters resisted with disdain, signifying their design of convoking a general assembly, even without the king's permission. The marquis resolved to make another journey to court, and in the mean time obtained a promise from them, that they would not proceed to the election of members till the twentieth day of September. In this interval, however, they took such precautions as secured an assembly fit for their purposes.

When the commissioner returned, he published a proclamation, importing, That the king revoked the liturgy, the book of canons, the high commission, and the five articles of Perth: That, for the future, the bishops should be censurable by the general assembly: and, That all the subjects of Scotland should subscribe the confession of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the covenant. Then he convoked a general assembly at Glasgow for the month of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables protested against the proclamation, because the new oath, in obliging them to maintain the religion at present professed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accusation, signed by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and burghers, was presented to the presbytery of Edinburgh against the bishops, alledging, That they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general assembly at Montrose in the preceding reign, consented to their being admitted to parliament. By those they were obliged to act only as deputies of the church: to propose nothing without the express order of the church: to consent to nothing

His majesty
revokes the
liturgy, &c.

A. C. 1638. nothing but what should be for the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation : and, to be accountable to the general assembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commissioner plainly perceived that the lay-interest predominated in the assembly, in the number of elders and assessors that were returned ; and all that he could do for the service of the king, was to encourage and promote disputes that would furnish him with a pretence to dissolve them. The bishops presented a declinatory, pronouncing the assembly null ; and the commissioner entered a great number of protests against their proceedings. At length, finding them determined to sit in judgment upon the bishops, he, on the seventh day of their session, dissolved the assembly as illegal, because they had introduced lay-elders to vote in their deliberations ; because the members had been chosen by lay-elders, contrary to custom ; because those few members to whom the tables were averse had been rejected without reason ; and the bishops were in danger of being tried by those who were their professed enemies. Notwithstanding this sentence of dissolution, the assembly of Glasgow continued itself by virtue of its own authority, and passed acts by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high commission, excommunicated fourteen bishops, and abjured episcopal government ; but they likewise presumed to reverse divers acts of parliament in favour of episcopacy, and to annul the subscriptions of those who had signed the confession of faith according to the king's order : nay, they even explained that confession as virtually, implying an abolition of episcopacy. The commissioner published another explanation, to prove that episcopacy did subsist, and that every person who signed the commission was bound to support it ; and this again was answered by the assembly.

General assembly at Glasgow dissolved by the commissioner.

But continue themselves, and abjure episcopacy.

Nelson. Rushworth.

The

The king was no sooner informed of their presumption, than he resolved to reduce them by force of arms. He summoned the nobility to a rendezvous at York, on the fifth day of April, ordering each individual to bring thither what number of cavalry he could raise. He, by means of archbishop Laud, obtained a large contribution from the clergy; and the catholics, exhorted and animated by the queen, were very liberal on this occasion. The command of a fleet, consisting of sixteen large ships, was conferred upon the marquis of Hamilton. The king set out for York on the seventh day of April, and found his army amounted to near twenty thousand men, besides five thousand soldiers on board of the fleet, his own guards, and the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle. The covenanters, far from being idle, had been before-hand with his majesty in their preparations. They had received supplies of arms, officers, artillery, and ammunition from Sweden, Germany, and Holland; and they established a correspondence with the puritans of England, without whose advice they took no step of importance. Charles, not without reason, taxed them with rebellion; and they endeavoured to persuade the English nation that they had taken up arms solely in defence of their religious liberties. They represented themselves as their brethren in distress; and exhorted them to seize this opportunity of vindicating their country from oppression. In order to convince the world of their pacific intentions, they scrupulously obeyed the king's proclamation, forbidding them to march within ten miles of the English border; and he believing their submission in this particular was the effect of their fear, sent another proclamation to Edinburgh, commanding them to lay down their arms, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason, yet offering a pardon to those who should return to their duty: but the magi-

A. C. 1639.

The king resolves to reduce them by force of arms.

A. C. 1639 magistrates of Edinburgh would not suffer this mandate to be published.

Malton.

Earl of Holland retreats before the covenanters.

On the same supposition, his majesty detached the earl of Holland with a body of three thousand infantry and two thousand horse, to reconnoitre and intimidate the covenanters, commanded by Lesly, an officer of experience, who had served with reputation in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. The earl, in all probability, expected they would retreat at his approach; but he found them advantageously posted on an eminence, to the number of five thousand foot-soldiers, and two hundred horsemen; and their appearance made such an impression upon him, that he retired with some precipitation to the king's quarters in the neighbourhood of Berwick. Charles, far from blaming his conduct, expressed uncommon satisfaction at his return. He now perceived that he had been misinformed with regard to the strength of the covenanters, who had by this time reduced the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The Scots about his person and his army are said to have betrayed him, by misrepresenting the condition of the rebels, and supplying them with intelligence of every thing that was transacted in the court and in the army. The marquis of Hamilton, who lay with his fleet in the frith of Forth, was now ordered to avoid hostilities; and the king seeing his noblemen and followers generally averse to the prosecution of the war, now wished for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodshed.

The covenanters, apprised of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble strain to the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majesty, and protesting that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any design to invade England. Essex, who both hated and despised the Scots, would not deign to answer their letter, which he sent to the king; but the other two noble-

noblemen were differently affected. They thought the covenanters had reason on their side, and turned their thought towards a pacification. When those letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermlin arrived from the Scottish camp with a trumpet; and presented to the king an humble supplication, beseeching his majesty to appoint commissioners for a treaty. Charles desired, That the last proclamation he had sent to Edinburgh should be read in the Scottish army. General Lesley complied with his request; and then he appointed six commissioners to treat with the insurgents. The conferences soon produced the following conventions for peace: The Scottish forces shall be disbanded in four and twenty hours after the king's declaration, importing, That all ecclesiastical affairs shall be decided by the general assembly; and all civil matters by the parliament: The royal forts, castles, and munitions of war, shall be restored to the king: His majesty shall then recal his fleet from the coast of Scotland, and dismiss the persons, ships, and effects which it had seized: No assembly shall be held, but such as is approved by acts of parliament. The cause of this war was never mentioned in the articles of pacification, which being signed, the Scots disbanded their army, and the king appointed the earl of Traquair his high commissioner at the ensuing assembly. This nobleman, a faithful adherent to the king, and devoted to the archbishop of Canterbury, was furnished with a set of instructions, by which it appears that Charles intended to temporize; and in all likelihood, there was as little sincerity on the side of the covenanters, who disbanded their troops in such a manner, that they could be reassembled with the utmost facility and dispatch.

The king did not think himself strong enough to reduce them by force of arms, and began to doubt the fidelity of his English subjects; and the Scots made

An accom-
modation.

Rushworth.

A. C. 1639. made this feigned submission, partly out of deference to their correspondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the odium of any subsequent rupture upon the king and his council. At the meeting of the general assembly in Edinburgh, the bishops, by the advice of his majesty, presented a declinatory to the commissioner, who sent it to the king, without having communicated the contents to the members. The assembly passed an act, imputing the troubles of the kingdom to the liturgy, the canons, consecration, ordination, the high commission, the five articles of Perth, the change of the church-government into episcopacy, the introduction of ecclesiastics into civil offices, and the suppression or interruption of general assemblies: all which innovations they abolished; and the commissioner confirmed their resolutions. By other acts they petitioned the commissioner and council, to ordain that all the subjects of Scotland should subscribe the covenant; and they commanded all the members of the church to sign it, with an express clause, importing, That they received it as explained by the general assembly, that is, containing an abolition of the articles of Perth, the episcopal government, and the elevation of ecclesiastics to civil offices. Then they resolved to petition the king, that their acts might be ratified in parliament; and without consulting the commissioner, appointed another assembly to meet at Aberdeen in the month of July in the following year. The parliament assembling immediately after their separation, presented a number of acts so prejudicial to the king's prerogative, that Charles, by a letter to Traquair, ordered him to prorogue it till the second day of June in the succeeding year; and should he meet with any opposition, to declare those members who should continue sitting, guilty of high treason.

Violence of
the Scots
assembly and
parliament.

That

That assembly upon receiving the order immediately separated; but not before the members had drawn up a declaration, importing, That the earl of Traquair had no power to prorogue them without their own consent: That the order had been obtained through false information: That the earl of Traquair and the council had violated the privileges of parliament: That though they had a right to sit notwithstanding the prorogation, they were willing to separate, in order to give the king a proof of their obedience. Nevertheless, they left a committee to present an humble petition to his majesty, which was accordingly transmitted to London by the earl of Dumfermlin, and the lord Loudon, appointed their deputies for this purpose; but the king would not favour them with an audience, because they had undertaken their journey without the leave of the high commissioner. After their return to their own country, Traquair being called to court, reported to the council the transactions which had passed in Scotland since the pacification; and it was unanimously resolved, that the Scots should be reduced to their duty by force of arms. Nevertheless, the king permitted the committee of Edinburgh to send up deputies; and the two noblemen already mentioned, with two colleagues, repaired to London. They presented a petition in the name of the last general assembly, desiring, that their acts or constitutions might be ratified in parliament: and another demanding, that they might be heard in presence of some counsellors of both kingdoms. They refused to speak before a committee of the English council, alledging, that they were sent to justify the conduct of the Scottish parliament to the king, and not to the council of England, which had no jurisdiction over them. Then the king favoured them with an audience, attended by the committee; and Loudon, in a long speech, endeavoured to justify the

They send
deputies to
the king.

A. C. 1640.

A. C. 1640. the transactions in Scotland : but the king was not satisfied with his arguments ; and the council declared, that the Scottish deputies had no powers to treat of an accommodation.

Intercepted
letter from
the Scots to
the king of
France,

Charles complained of the insolence and illegal conduct of their parliament ; he taxed the covenanters with having, since the last pacification, levied troops ; received arms, artillery, and ammunition, from foreign countries ; imposed taxes on the subjects ; diffused defamatory libels against his government, through the kingdom of England ; prohibited the king's governor of Edinburgh-castle from repairing the walls of that fortress ; and prevented the garrison from supplying themselves with provisions ; fortified other places for their own rebellious purposes ; and solicited the assistance of foreign powers against their own sovereign. This last allegation was supported by an intercepted letter, directed to the king of France, in the same stile that subjects use towards their sovereign. The subject of it was to implore assistance, and recommend the bearer Colvil as their agent ; and it was subscribed Rothés, Montrose, Montgomery, Loudon, Lesley, Forrester, Marr. Lord Loudon being examined touching this letter, which was without date, declared it had been written before the last pacification : but he was committed prisoner to the Tower ; and the king made an advantage of this occurrence, pretending, that the Scots designed to introduce an army of foreigners into their country ; so that there was an absolute necessity to make preparations for the defence of England. Charles certainly acted in the most arbitrary and impolitic manner, by exerting his supremacy in the church of Scotland, contrary to the genius and consciences of the people, inflamed to the most dangerous pitch of fanaticism ; and, without all doubt, the Scots were guilty of rebellion in taking arms against their sovereign, and demanding the

the abolition of the episcopal government, which A. C. 1649. was founded on acts of parliament: but if ever resistance is excusable, it must certainly be so in such a case, where a people is threatened with civil and religious slavery.

The king having resolved upon the war, practised every method he could devise to assemble a powerful army. He ordered every county to raise a certain number of troops, and exacted the payment of ship-money with great rigour. He was furnished with a very reasonable pretence for levying this imposition. The Dutch fleet under admiral Tromp, attacked a Spanish squadron commanded by Don Antonio de Ocquendo, while he lay at anchor in the Downs, under the protection of Pennington, admiral of England. Forty Spanish vessels were destroyed or taken; and Charles deeply resented this insult upon the honour of his flag: but the situation of his affairs would not allow him to break with the Dutch; and in the beginning of the following year they sent a splendid embassy with excuses, and a proposal of marriage between the prince of Orange and his eldest daughter. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general of the army destined to act against Scotland; and his lieutenant was Wentworth governor of Ireland, lately created earl of Strafford. Preparations for war with Scotland. This nobleman, together with the marquis of Hamilton, and the archbishop of Canterbury, were consulted in all important affairs; and advised him to convoke a parliament. Mean while, the king borrowed money of his counsellors to defray the expence of his warlike preparations; and they contributed largely towards the relief of his necessities. Their example was followed by some other noblemen; so that he found himself in a condition to proceed with his armament, without waiting for a subsidy. Rushworth.

A. C. 1640.

The king
assembles a
parliament.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-third of April, Sir John Finch lately appointed lord-keeper, made a speech in the king's name and presence to both houses, enlarging upon the insolence of the Scottish rebels; and demanding an immediate supply that should enable him to reduce them to obedience. Then the king himself confirmed what he had advanced; and ordered the letter from the Scottish lords to the French king to be read in their hearing. The commons having chosen their speaker, and appointed their committees, instead of taking fire at the insolence of the Scots, and granting an immediate supply, appeared, like their predecessors, attached to the subject of grievances, and received divers petitions, complaining of ship-money, monopolies, the Star-chamber, and the high commission. Mr. Pym, in a long discourse, undertook to demonstrate, that the rights of the nation had been violated by encroachments on the liberties of parliament, innovations in religion, and invasions of property. The house ordered the registers containing the process against Mr. Hambden about the ship-money to be produced. The speaker of the last parliament, being examined touching his refusing to collect the votes, declared, that he was restricted by his majesty's express order; and they immediately voted, that this order was a violation of privileges. Both houses being summoned to Whitehall, the lord-keeper gave them to understand that the army was on its march; and, that unless they should be regularly paid, his majesty's designs would prove abortive. He told them, that the king had no intention to reduce the ship-money into an annual revenue; he explained the necessity of equipping a powerful navy; expatiated upon the readiness with which the Irish parliament had granted a supply: he desired they would regulate the tax of tonnage and poundage; declared

Mr. Pym
recapitulates
the griev-
ances of the
nation.

declared his majesty's firm intention to redress all their grievances; and exhorted them to lay aside all jealousies and suspicion. At the same time, he set lord Loudon at liberty, through the mediation of the marquis of Hamilton, who is said to have favoured the covenanters in his heart. A. C. 1640.

His assurances made no impression upon the commons, who continued to deliberate upon the grievances. The king sent a message, desiring their positive answer touching the supply; but they expressed no inclination to gratify his request. Then Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state, proposed in his majesty's name, That if they would vote twelve subsidies payable in three years, and pass it into an act immediately, with a clause, that it should not determine the session, he would not only abstain for the present from levying ship-money, but even consent to its being utterly abolished in any manner that they should judge convenient. This proposal produced violent debates. Notwithstanding the clamours of the opposition, the majority seemed disposed to give the king satisfaction; but, during that day, the house could not take any resolution. Mean while, some malicious person insinuated to the king, that next day the commons intended to pass a vote against the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which was intirely groundless, repaired on the morrow to the house of peers, where he dissolved the parliament. Immediately after the dissolution, which the king justified by a long declaration, an order of council was issued for searching the lord Brook's papers, on suspicion of his maintaining a correspondence with the Scottish rebels: Sir Henry Bellasis, and Sir John Hotham, were imprisoned for refusing to answer questions that were put to them at the council-board; and Mr. Crew was sent to the Tower, because he would not deliver to

Parliament dissolved.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

A. C. 1640. the council the petitions that were presented to the committee for the affairs of religion, of which he had been president. Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation continued sitting, under the name of a synod, and enacted certain canons. Among these there was one, that obliged all ecclesiastics, and such as had received degrees in the universities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and that they never would consent to any alteration of the church-government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c.

The convocation continues to sit, and enacts canons.

After having settled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impose, they granted a large subsidy for the maintenance of the Scottish war, and then separated.

Arbitrary measures of the court.

The dissolution of the parliament raised a new ferment among the people; and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the favour publicly shewn to the Roman catholics, who were protected and even caressed at court, through the influence of the queen, who had persuaded her husband to receive count Rozetti, the pope's agent, in a public capacity. In order to raise money for the purposes of the war, the king ordered every county to advance the necessary sums for cloathing their respective forces, and conducting them to the general rendezvous. He bought upon credit all the pepper that was in the warehouses of the East-India company, and sold it again for ready money: he borrowed forty thousand pounds worth of bullion, which private persons had sent to the mint, and punctually repaid it in the sequel. He demanded a loan of three hundred thousand pounds of the city of London; but met with a refusal, at which he was so much incensed that he resolved to gratify his revenge. The city had formerly received a patent for settling a colony at Londonderry

derry in Ireland: and was now accused before the Star-chamber of having usurped a greater quantity of lands than was granted in the patent, condemned to lose the grant, and pay a large fine; but shortly after retrieved the patent: though it was likewise prosecuted before the Star-chamber, because the mayor and sheriffs had neglected to seize the goods and effects of those who refused to pay the ship-money. Such rigour, exercised upon the metropolis, alienated the hearts of the inhabitants from the king, and they in their turn enjoyed their revenge. The Scots continued to foment the animosity of the people by their artful professions and insidious declarations, which were spread all over the kingdom by their travelling-pedlars and other disguised agents.

The earl of Northumberland being seized with a dangerous illness, and the earl of Strafford, his lieutenant, detained at London as a necessary member of the cabinet-council, the lord Conway advanced to Newcastle with three thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse; and there he received intelligence that the Scottish army was on its march towards England. Lesley, at the head of two and twenty thousand covenanters, passed the Tweed at Coldstream, on the twentieth day of August; and in a few days encamped at Newburn, on the banks of the river Tyne, about four miles from Newcastle. He found the lord Conway intrenched on the other side to guard the ford, and resolved to pass in the face of the English. He raised some batteries, by which Conway's horse were put in confusion; and passing the river, after a slight skirmish, routed him at the first onset. Conway retired with precipitation to Durham; and, thinking himself unsafe in that place, marched back to Northallerton, where he joined the king's army. Mean while the Scots, surprised at their own suc-

The Scots
rout the
army at
Newburn,
and take
possession
Newcastle.

A. C. 1640. cefs, took poffeffion of Newcaſtle, where they found plenty of ammunition and artillery provided for his majeſty's ſervice. The inconfiderable action at Newburn was attended with very important conſequences. The earl of Strafford, a nobleman of a ſevere and haughty diſpoſition, rendered himſelf unpopular in the army by reviling Conway's officers and ſoldiers for their puſillanimous behaviour at the paſſage of the Tyne. Theſe, on the other hand, in excuſe of their own conduct, magnified the number, valour, and diſcipline of the enemy : and ſuch exaggerations made an impreſſion upon the whole army, already averſe to the war.

The malcontents now ſpoke loudly againſt the government, knowing this was no time to call them to account for their preſumption: the Scots behaved with great moderation, declaring they entertained no hoſtile deſigns againſt the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as their friends and brethren in oppreſſion ; but that their ſole aim was to procure acceſs to his majeſty, that they might make him acquainted with their grievances. They proteſted their intentions were wholly pacific ; they circulated two manifeſtoes, explaining the juſtice of their cauſe, the artifice of their enemies, among whom they ranked as chief the earl of Strafford and the archbiſhop of Canterbury ; the neceſſity that compelled them to take arms in their own defence ; the rectitude of their intention, which they called God to witneſs ; and the intereſt of England to engage in the ſame cauſe, for the ſupport of their liberties and religion. Finally, they ſent a petition to the king, beſeeching him, in the moſt humble terms, to lend an ear to their complaints, and redreſs their grievances by the advice of an Engliſh parliament. Charles had convoked an aſſembly of his nobles at York, that he might uſe their advice in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He deſired to know the

They ſue
for peace.

the particular demands of the Scots, who transmitted the following propositions: That he would cause the acts of the last general assembly to be ratified in parliament: That the castle of Edinburgh, and other places of strength in Scotland, should be employed for no other purpose but the defence of the kingdom: That the Scots in England and Ireland should not incur any penalty for having subscribed the covenant, nor be subjected to oaths or subscriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: That the authors of these troubles should be punished as incendiaries, according to their demerits: That the ships taken from the Scots should be restored, with all their merchandise, and the damage be repaired: That they should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained since the beginning of the troubles: That the proclamations, declaring them traitors, should be revoked: And that his majesty would, with the advice of his English parliament, withdraw the garrisons from the frontiers, that a free communication and commerce between the two nations might be restored.

The king was now reduced to great perplexity. The city of London, which befriended the Scots, had presented a petition, complaining of illegal impositions, monopolies, the growth of popery, and proposing a parliament as the only expedient for redressing these national grievances. Another remonstrance, to the same purpose, was signed by the earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seal, Edward Howard, Bollingbroke, Mandeville, Brook, and Paget; and the gentlemen of Yorkshire delivered an address, in which they besought his majesty to make peace with Scotland, and assemble a parliament. The king, in a speech to the noblemen of York, declared his resolution to convoke a

M. 4

par.

A. C. 1640.

The king
resolves to
convoke a
parliament.

Conferences
for a treaty
opened at
Rippon.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

parliament for the third day of November; and demanded their advice touching the subsistence of his troops, and the answers he should return to the proposals of the Scots. The result of their deliberations was, that commissioners should be appointed to treat with the enemy. Sixteen peers were nominated for that purpose, together with the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, and some others as their assistants; at the same time a resolution was taken to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, on the credit of the peers, who should give security for the repayment of that sum. The Scots having appointed commissioners to treat on their side, the negotiation was begun at Rippon on the first day of October. But, in the first place, they represented that their army was maintained by contributions raised upon Cumberland, Newcastle, and the bishopric of Durham; and insisted upon the king's making some provision for their subsistence during the treaty. They likewise refused to confer with the earl of Traquair, whom they branded as an incendiary, against whom they demanded justice. After some disputes the commissioners agreed upon the preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottish army, at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; and restoring the freedom of commerce between the two nations. But the Scots artfully protracted the ratification of the articles until the sixteenth day of October; and then they had not settled the conditions of the truce, much less discussed the articles of the treaty. They foresaw that the noblemen would be obliged to give their attendance in parliament; and in that case the conferences would be removed to London, which was propitious to their designs. They were not mistaken in their conjectures: the negotiation was transferred

ferred to London, at the desire of the English A. C. 1640.
commissioners.

The parliament, at meeting, was unusually numerous. Every member looked upon this conjuncture as a national crisis. The king, in his speech, represented the necessity of a supply to maintain his troops, and of means to expel the Scottish rebels, that the nation in general might be freed from its fears, and the northern counties disburdened of such troublesome guests, whom they were obliged to maintain. The commons, having, at the king's recommendation, filled their chair with William Lenthall, a lawyer of some reputation, established a committee of elections. Then they resolved, that on certain days of every week there should be a committee of the whole house, to deliberate upon the state of religion, the grievances, the courts of justice, commerce, and the affairs of Ireland. Fanaticism, with all its levelling principles, had now overspread the land. Even those leaders of the commons, who had assumed a puritanical severity in their words and actions, to work the more effectually on the minds of the populace, were gradually infected with that enthusiasm which at first they had only feigned. Many became real religionists; while others imbibed a large portion of puritanism, without laying aside their hypocrisy. The members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government. A few moderate men sought only to ascertain the liberties of the nation: others resolved to humble and diminish the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government: but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid presbyterians, and were afterwards known by the name of independents.

The parliament meets.

The puritanical party still prevails in the house of commons.

A. C. 1640. pendants. Religion was become a universal fashion. The most eloquent speakers in the house introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their speeches, and all their allusions being scriptural, stamped them with an air of prophecy or inspiration.

They proceed upon grievances.

In the beginning of the sessions a great number of petitions were presented by individuals, as well as by multitudes of people, and numerous troops of horsemen from different counties, craving redress of grievances both in church and state. Mr. Pym, member for Tavistock in Devonshire, signalized himself in a set speech, recapitulating every grievance and shadow of misconduct of which the king's administration had been accused. He divided them into three heads, such as infringed the liberty of parliament, prejudiced religion, and incroached upon the liberty of the subject. He compared the innovations in religion to the parable of the dry bones in the prophecies of Ezekiel. They first joined themselves together: then came the sinews and flesh; these were afterwards covered with skin; and at last the whole was inspired with the breath of life. He complained that members of parliament had been restrained from speaking their sentiments; that some of them had been imprisoned, prosecuted in inferior courts, and detained in custody for having spoken their opinions in the house: that the speaker had been forbidden to put the question, and several parliaments abruptly dissolved; that the laws against papists were suspended, and persons of that communion favoured with places of trust and honour in the commonwealth: that they freely resorted to court, in order to communicate their councils and designs; and that a nuncio publicly exercised the pope's authority in England. He inveighed against the maintenance of

of popish tenets in books, sermons, and disputes ; A. C. 1640: the new ceremonies in religion, such as altars, images, crucifixes, and bowings ; the prosecution of protestant dissenters for things in themselves indifferent ; the intrenchments of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, fining and imprisoning illegally, and challenging that power as vested in their order *jure divino* ; and contriving and publishing canons and orders for visitation. Under the head of public grievances he recapitulated the exaction of tonnage and poundage, composition for knighthood, imposition of ship-money, arbitrary enlargement of forests, sale of nuisances by compounding for them, commission for building and depopulation, unlawful military charges levied by the king's warrant, letters of council, and orders of lieutenants of counties ; extrajudicial declarations of judges, monopolies, the court of Star-chamber, the king's edicts and proclamations for maintaining monopolies ; the ambition and corruption of the clergy, who preached up divine authority and absolute power in kings ; and lastly, the intermission of parliaments. Inflammatory harangues of the same nature were made by the lord Digby, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and several other members. Rushworth.
Whitlock.

The commons desired the lords to join in an address to his majesty for a fast, which was accordingly appointed. A committee was named to examine into the number of papists in and about London. The lord Digby proposed a remonstrance on the grievances of the nation, which was postponed till another opportunity. The house voted, that all those members, who were concerned in monopolies, should be reputed unworthy of seats in parliament. Among the petitions presented to the house, were those of Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, who had undergone such rigorous punishment for libelling the government. By an arbitrary order of council they had been severally exiled to Scilly, Jersey, and Guernsey ;

A. C. 1648. fey; excluded from all communication, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. The house of commons now reversed the sentence, as illegal; and the judges were ordered to make reparation to the injured. When they landed in England, the people in crouds received them with loud acclamations. They were treated on the road with great magnificence, and entered London in triumph, amidst the warmest demonstrations of popular affection. Lilburn, Leighton, Jennings, and Smart, who had been imprisoned for the same offence, were likewise released, and obtained damages of the judges and ministers. The house eagerly listened to all petitions of people who had been aggrieved, by the king's ministers, or complained of the innovations of the clergy. But their chief resentment was levelled against archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, whom they considered as the most dangerous enemies of puritanism in church and state. On the eleventh day of November, Pym, after having desired that the doors of the house might be locked, and the keys laid on the table, declared he had divers articles of complaint, which might amount to an impeachment for high-treason against the earl of Strafford. A committee having considered the charge in another apartment, reported that there was sufficient ground for an accusation: then Pym was ordered to go up to the house of peers, and impeach the earl of high-treason, in the name of the commons. He had foreseen this storm, and proposed to the king that he should retire to his government of Ireland; but Charles trusted so much to his capacity and attachment, that he insisted upon his attendance, and promised to defend him from the fury of the commons. He was no sooner impeached than the lords committed him to the custody of the usher of the black rod; and, in a few days, he was sent to the Tower. Divers petitions having been de-

The earl of
Strafford
impeached,

delivered to the lower house against Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, complaining that he had favoured the Roman catholics, and released several convicted priests, he was summoned to appear and answer to the charge; but he thought proper to consult his safety, by retiring to the continent.

The commons, taking into consideration the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been enacted and imposed by the convocation, unanimously voted that such an assembly had no power to frame constitutions, canons, or any other acts, without consent of parliament: that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, the liberty and property of the subjects; that therefore they tended to sedition, and were of the most dangerous consequences.

Then they appointed a committee of nine and thirty members to inquire who were the principal promoters of those canons: and to prepare an impeachment against the archbishop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the same time presented to the lords an accusation against this prelate, taxing him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by imposing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majesty and his subjects. The archbishop, being likewise impeached by the commons, was taken into custody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, being suspected of a design to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give a security for ten thousand pounds. The lord-keeper Finch, being threatened with a prosecution, fled into Holland, and was declared a traitor by a vote of the commons; and the king committed the seals to Sir

As is arch-
bishop Laud.

Ed-

A. C. 1640. Edward Lyttleton, Brampton, Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges, were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to over-awe the king's ministers; but what still more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of passing votes against any part of their conduct, as contrary to law.

The king's
ministers
rigorously
prosecuted
by the com-
mons.

Petitions being presented against those who had been concerned in monopolies, innovations, or in any shape instrumental in promoting what was stiled a grievance, the house of commons examined and declared them delinquents, as having committed offences for which they deserved to be punished according to law: consequently they lay under the terror of a prosecution. A much greater number lived in daily apprehension of falling under cognizance; so that all the favourers of Charles were terrified into submission, and he was almost abandoned by his defendants. He found the torrent too strong to be opposed, and therefore acquiesced in their measures with a good grace; and indeed, from the beginning of this parliament, he seems to have been sincerely disposed to a reconciliation with the commons. The lord Falkland having spoken with great energy against the imposition of ship-money, the house voted that this tax was levied contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the privileges of the subject, and the petition of right: that the opinions of the judges, who favoured that imposition, were contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the rights and property of the subject, the resolutions of parliament, and the petition of right: and that the king's orders, on that subject, were illegal in the same degree. A committee was appointed to examine the judges, and learn by whom and in what manner they were solicited and threatened to give such an extrajudicial opinion. The committee for examining the right of the subject was ordered to draw up im-
peach-

peachments against lord-keeper Finch and the rest of the judges who had subscribed those opinions; to receive informations touching the refusal of admitting persons to the benefit of the Habeas Corpus, the prohibitions, the extrajudicial opinions of the judges concerning the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings. The lords ordered the record of the judgment awarded against Mr. Hambden, in the affair of ship-money, and the opinions of the judges on that affair, to be cancelled in their presence: and this order paved the way for an act to abolish ship-money, to which the king gave his assent in the sequel.

The demagogues in the house of commons had resolved upon the abolition of the hierarchy. The presbyterians hated the bishops, as their religious enemies and persecutors. The republicans considered them as a dead weight in the house of lords, that would always cause the royal scale to preponderate; for they were, to a man, devoted to the king and his prerogative. In order to pave the way for their exclusion from the upper house, a great number of petitions were procured against the prelates. One was presented against archbishop Laud, in the name of Wilson, a minister whom he had suspended. Smart complained of having been deprived of his benefice, and imprisoned by the high commission, at the instigation of doctor Cozens dean of Durham, because he would not conform to the innovations which that ecclesiastic had introduced. Smart was released, and Cozens declared a delinquent. The town of Banbury petitioned against innovations. Two inhabitants of Chester complained to the house of their having been cruelly treated by the high commission-court of York, because they had visited Prynne in the castle of Caernarvon. A petition was presented to the house, subscribed by
a great

Their designs against the hierarchy.

A. C. 1640. a great number of persons in London, and several counties, containing eight and twenty grievances, arising from episcopal government. Addresses of the same kind were offered by the city of Gloucester; and several ministers of the English church. They were eagerly received by the commons, who nominated a committee to examine the jurisdiction and proceedings of the two courts of high commission, in the provinces of Canterbury and York; and another was established, to take cognizance of the last convocation.

A. C. 1641. The king, alarmed at these transactions, repaired to the house of peers, where, in a speech to the lords and commons, he recommended dispatch in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army: he told them, that he made a wide distinction between reforming and altering the government; that therefore he could not consent to the exclusion of bishops from the upper house; nor to a bill for triennial parliaments, which he understood the commons had under consideration. On that same day, a petition was presented to them against Matthew Wren, who, while bishop of Norwich, had by oppression and innovation, compelled above fifty families of that city to retire to New-England. Then the house deliberated upon the remonstrance of the ministers in London, against the bishops; and the right of prelates to sit in parliament. Warm debates arose upon this last subject. The friends of episcopacy affirmed, that prelates sat in parliament since the beginning of the constitution, as the representatives of the clergy: and the other party alleged, that they first obtained seats in parliament, as possessors of temporal baronies, for which they did homage to the sovereign. Much learning and elocution was displayed on both sides of the dispute. On the thirteenth day of February, the house ordered a bill to be brought in for abolishing superstition.

stitution. On the first day of March, a committee was established to prepare reasons for depriving ecclesiastics of all secular employments; and on the ninth, another bill was ordered against pluralities. Upon the report of the committee appointed to examine the remonstrance against the bishops, the house voted, That the legislative and judiciary power of the bishops in the house of peers, was a great obstacle to the discharge of their spiritual functions, as well as prejudicial to the state; therefore it was necessary to suppress that power: and that a bill should be prepared for the purpose. The same vote was passed with respect to the judiciary power of bishops, and other ecclesiastics in the commission of the peace, in the Star-chamber, or in any other court of jurisdiction. At length, a bill for excluding ecclesiastics from all secular employments passed the house of commons; and was sent up to the lords, among whom it met with great opposition. The commons immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy: then the lords gave them to understand, they were ready to concur with the first bill, excepting the clause that deprived bishops of their seats in parliament. In a subsequent conference between the two houses, the lords declared; That they did not conceive this right of the bishops could be disputed, either by the common or statute-law of the kingdom: nor did they see any inconvenience resulting from such right; though they were ready to concur with the commons in excluding them from seats in the Star-chamber and in the council, and from the exercise of all secular employments. Next day the lower house presented to the lords nine reasons for excluding bishops from parliament: and on the seventh day of June, the peers voted, That the bishops should be maintained in their right to sit in parliament. On the fifteenth, the lower house passed a vote, importing, That all

A. C. 1641. deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, should be totally suppressed; and their revenues employed for the encouragement of study, science, and other pious uses: That the king should be indemnified for his rents, first-fruits, and other rights: and, That a convenient subsistence should be assigned to those who should be thus deprived of their livings, provided they were not delinquents.

Proceedings
against the
catholics.

During these transactions, the catholics did not escape unpunished. The committee appointed to consider the king's proclamation against recusants, having reported that it did not answer the expectations of the house, the commons desired the general of the army to dismiss all the officers that were papists, and petitioned the king to deprive all catholic governors of their places. A remonstrance was prepared against the pope's nuncio Rosetti, who resided in England, on pretence of being necessary to the queen in matters of conscience; and the justices of the peace were ordered to prosecute recusants with all the rigour of the law. Several conferences were held between the two houses on the subject of one Goodman, a jesuit, who had been condemned to death and respited by the king. They presented a joint-remonstrance to his majesty, desiring he would not interrupt the execution of justice upon this jesuit and apostate. Charles replied, that the death of Goodman might prejudice the protestants abroad. The man himself petitioned that he might be put to death rather than occasion any difference between the king and parliament; and the two houses, mollified perhaps by this generous request, no longer insisted upon his execution. The commons having received information of some secret design hatched by the papists, ordered the mayor of London to prevent the resort of people to the chapels of the queen and of foreign ambassadors:

dors : a bill was brought into the house for disarming all the papists of the kingdom. The members examined into the affair of the contribution which the catholics had raised for the support of the war in Scotland. But the queen appeased them with a message, owning she had exerted herself for the relief of the king in his necessities, protesting she did not know that the methods she used were contrary to law ; and assuring them she would for the future act with more circumspection. She likewise promised of her own accord, that Rosetti should be sent back to his own country ; but delaying the performance of this promise until their patience was exhausted, they ordered him to be brought to the bar, that he might be interrogated ; and he retired to the continent with great precipitation. Father Philippe, the queen's confessor, was examined by the commons, who sent to the lords an impeachment against him, and another against the superior of her majesty's capuchins ; but on neither did they proceed.

Nelson.
Rushworth.
Clarendon.
Great popularity of the
Scots.

This vigour of the commons was in a great measure owing to the Scottish army that still remained at Newcastle. The earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, who were their chief deputies in negotiating the treaty, maintained an intimate correspondence with the leading men in the lower house, and greatly influenced their measures. Those commissioners were magnificently lodged in the city of London, close by St. Antholin's church, which was assigned to them as a place of devotion, where their chaplains publicly practised the presbyterian form of worship ; and by their preaching acquired great popularity among the English puritans. Their prayers and sermons were no other than rhapsodies of unintelligible jargon, which was wonderfully adapted to the ignorant fanaticism that then prevailed in all parts of the nation. The house of commons appointed

A. C. 1643. a committee to renew the treaty of Rippon with the Scottish commissioners; and an order was entered, that upon all occasions they should receive the appellation of Our Brethren of Scotland. It was resolved, That the Scottish as well as the English army, should be paid by the parliament: two subsidies were granted for this purpose; and in the mean time, money was borrowed in the city of London, on the credit of particular members. A poll-tax, and other supplies, were afterwards levied; but not sufficient to defray the whole expence. They foresaw, that the parliament's being in debt would be a good reason for continuing the session. They looked upon the Scots as their confederates, whose presence kept the king in subjection; and they determined to retain those invaders, until they should have wholly subdued the royal prerogative.

The king passes the act for triennial parliaments, and makes other concessions.

This was actually the case: in the course of this session Charles gave his assent to an act establishing triennial parliaments; another to abolish the Star-chamber and high commission; a third for reducing forests to their antient bounds in the reign of Edward I. a fourth repealing the statutes concerning knighthood, which had passed in the reign of the second Edward; and a fifth for abolishing the tax of ship-money. The commons, in granting the tonnage and poundage, voted these duties for two months only, and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, that they might convince the king of his having no independent right to assume them, without the consent of parliament. The marshal's-court, the stannary-court, together with the councils of the North, and of Wales, were abolished, as illegal and oppressive. The nation expressed great joy at these concessions of the king, who now found himself abandoned by his adherents, and had the mortification to see the Scots caressed by the parliament, which, instead of enabling him to drive them

as rebels out of England, now presented them with three hundred thousand pounds, as a recompence for having invaded the kingdom. In a word, he was obliged to grant all their demands, in a treaty which was ratified by the parliaments of both nations. Charles, with a view to render the popular leaders propitious to his government, and more placable with regard to the earl of Strafford, admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton. Juxon bishop of London, the friend of Laud, resigned the treasurer's staff: Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general. The king intended that Hollis should fill the place of secretary, vacated by the flight of Windebank: that Pym should be made chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned; lord Say master of the wards; the earl of Essex governor, and Mr. Hambden tutor to the prince; but this total change in the ministry was prevented by the king's understanding that those persons would not alter their measures, in consequence of their promotion.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

The sacrifices he had already made did not one moment retard the prosecution of Strafford. That nobleman was considered as the chief support of the prerogative: the commons looked upon him as an apostate; and the Scots hated him, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. A committee of thirteen was chosen by the lower house, to prepare the charge against him; and these were joined to a committee of the lords, authorized to examine witnesses and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They likewise took an oath of secrecy, that the earl might find the greater difficulty in eluding their enquiries, and in preparing for his defence. The king too rashly consented to their examining privy-counsellors upon opinions deli-

Trial of the
earl of Strafford.

A. C. 1641. vered at the board. Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's friend and confident, was accused of high-treason, brought from Ireland and committed to prison, that Strafford might be deprived of his intimate friend, who was best able to justify his conduct. The Irish house of commons sent over a committee to assist in the prosecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms seemed bent upon his destruction. The articles of his impeachment, amounting to eight and twenty, charged him with having exercised illegal arbitrary power and oppression in many instances, both as president of the North, and as lord-lieutenant of Ireland: with having been the cause of the war with the Scots, against whom he had unjustly irritated his majesty: with having levied an army of Irish papists to enslave the kingdom; and with having advised the king to establish an absolute government on the ruins of the constitution. Westminster-hall was formed into a large court of judicature, for this important trial. The earl of Arundel presided as lord high-steward, the peers sat in their robes as judges, and the commons as accusers; but the bishops withdrew, according to custom, because forbidden by the canons to assist at any trial for life. At the upper end was a chair and cloth of state for the king, and on each side a close gallery, in which his majesty and the queen sat in private. Whitelock was appointed chairman of the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment. The trial began on the twenty-second-day of March. The articles of accusation were enforced with all the virulence of malice, and all the energy of eloquence. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and composure. His defence was noble, spirited, and effectual. He acquitted himself of every imputation, except a few acrimonious expressions, and some instances of indiscretion, which ought to have been for-

forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared against him to justify the charge of treason, when, on the twelfth day of April, Pym produced, in the house of commons, a paper of some notes taken by secretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended that he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear testimony against the earl, his accusers next day read them openly at his trial. They were entitled, No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive. The earl had advised the king to borrow a sum of money of the city of London, and to levy ship-money. He said his majesty was absolved from all rule of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulsed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence observed, that it was hard measure to be prosecuted under the notion of treason for opinions given in council: that his using the expression "this kingdom," was not proved, as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord treasurer, and the lord Cottington, who were present at the board, declared, upon their honours, that they never heard him speak such words; but granting he had used the expression, the word This could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of disobedience, but Scotland, which was the immediate subject of their deliberation, and in a state of actual rebellion. After having made this answer, he recapitulated the several parts of his former defence; and in conclusion, said, "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interests of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me."---Here he made a pause, pointing to his children, and shedding some tears, then proceeded in these words "What I for-

A. C. 1641. "feit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion
 "should extend to my posterity woundeth me to
 "the very soul---You will pardon my infirmity;
 "something I should have added, but am not able,
 "therefore let it pass:--and now, my lords, for my-
 "self, I have been taught, by the blessing of Al-
 "mighty God, that the afflictions of this present
 "life are not to be compared to the eternal weight
 "of glory, which will be revealed hereafter: and
 "so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind,
 "I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whe-
 "ther that judgment be of life or death, Te Deum
 "Laudamus." The very chairman of the commit-
 tee who managed the impeachment, says this great
 and good person spoke with such pathetic grace and
 eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors
 (a few excepted) to pity and remorse.

He is con-
 victed by bill
 of attainder.

He and his counsel produced such weighty argu-
 ments in his defence, that the commons saw no pros-
 pect of his destruction but by bill of attainder,
 which passed the house on the twenty-first day of
 April, after a sharp debate, and was immediately
 sent up to the lords. On the first day of May, the
 king assembling both houses, passionately requested
 that they would not proceed severely against the earl
 of Strafford, whom, in his own conscience, he could
 not condemn of high-treason; but that for his mis-
 demeanours he should never serve him, nor the
 common-wealth, in any place of trust, no not so
 much as a constable. Next day the nuptials of the
 prince of Orange and the princess Mary were so-
 lemnized; and the popular minister preached up
 the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents.
 On the third, a vast multitude of the populace from
 the city appeared at Westminster, armed with swords
 and cudgels, crying aloud for justice against the earl
 of Strafford. They pretended decay of trade, and
 want of subsistence; and pasted up at Westminster

the

the names of all those members of parliament who had voted for the earl. A national protestation to maintain the protestant religion against popery; to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject, was taken by the lords and commons, and imposed upon all the people of England. A bill was brought in for continuing this parliament, which should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved, without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed, but have credit to take up money. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Strafford guilty of high treason. The king being addressed upon the act of attainder, and the other bill, was involved in the utmost anxiety. His counsellors advised him to give up the earl, in order to appease the enraged people. Strafford himself, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majesty to sacrifice him to a reconciliation with his subjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, and terrified with the thoughts of a rebellion, used all her influence in persuading him to comply with the demands of his parliament. Thus perplexed, and bated with importunities, he commissioned three lords to pass the bills, which deprived Strafford of life, and himself of authority. When secretary Carleton informed the earl of this transaction, he started up from his chair, with marks of extreme astonishment, and laying his hand upon his breast, exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." Charles was immediately seized with remorse for what he had done, and sent a letter by the prince to the house of lords, intreating them to confer with the commons, that the life of Strafford might be spared; but they paid no regard to his request.

The parliament was now more than ever exasperated by the discovery of two designs which were

A. C. 1641. were said to be countenanced by his majesty. One was to forward the escape of Strafford, by means of captain Billingsley, who came with two hundred men, and a warrant from the king, to be admitted into the Tower; but Sir William Balfour the lieutenant, suspecting his intention, would not receive the reinforcement. Balfour himself was tampered with, and might have been gratified with a considerable sum of money, for conniving at the earl's elopement; but he was so strongly attached to his countrymen the covenanters, that he rejected the offer, and communicated the transaction to the popular men among the commons. The other design was an association of the officers in the army to defend the king's person and government against those who seemed bent upon overturning the constitution in church and estate. The persons chiefly concerned in this affair, were the lord Piercy, Jermyn, O Neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, and Ashburnham, who enjoyed commissions in the army. They were piqued at some marks of partiality which the commons had exhibited in favour of the Scots; and no doubt they were fired with indignation to see their monarch so rigorously treated by this parliament. They drew up the form of a petition to the king and parliament, to be subscribed by the army, which therein promised to come up and guard his majesty and the two houses, from the danger of tumults excited by malcontents, and vindicate the nation from innovations. This draught was countersigned by the initial letters of the king's name, in token of his approbation. Goring, who was governor of Portsmouth, betrayed the secret to the leading men in the lower house. Pym communicated the intelligence in an inflammatory speech. Piercy and Jermyn fled immediately to the continent. Goring was examined at the bar of the house, and confessed the associators had bound them-

Design of
some officers
to render the
army subservient
to the king's
interest.

themselves by an oath of secrecy ; and though this A. C. 1641
 circumstance was still denied by Pollard, Wilmot,
 and Ashburnham, Piercy confirmed it, in a letter
 to his brother the earl of Northumberland. It was
 considered as a very dangerous conspiracy ; and on
 this occasion the protestation had been signed by
 all the members of both houses, except South-
 ampton and Roberts. To keep up the ferment
 of the people, fresh alarms were every day founded.
 A great concourse of papists was said to be assem-
 bled in Lancashire : the malcontents of that com-
 munion were reported to meet in Surry, and con-
 spire in subterranean caverns. Some ridiculous
 plots were feigned for the purpose of irritating the
 populace ; and rumours of invasions and insurrec-
 tions carefully circulated. The people thus inflam-
 ed, blazed out in violence and riot ; they croud-
 ed about the palace of Whitehall, and demanded
 justice with the most outrageous menaces and cla-
 mour.

In such a state of anarchy and insurrection, no
 wonder that little regard was paid to the king's in-
 terposition in favour of Strafford. On the twelfth
 day of May, that unhappy nobleman was brought
 to the scaffold on Tower-hill ; and, as he passed by
 the apartments of the archbishop, he spoke to him
 at the window, intreating the assistance of his
 prayers. Laud, summoning all his fortitude, en-
 couraged the noble sufferer with spiritual comfort,
 administered with a chearful voice and confident
 expression. Thus animated, the earl appeared in
 his last scene with that serenity which is the effect
 of true courage and internal peace. He expressed
 his fears that a reformation, begun with the shed-
 ding of innocent blood, would not have a happy
 issue. He declared his attachment to the protes-
 tant religion, as professed in the church of Eng-
 land ; his loyalty to the king, and affection to the
 peace

Strafford is
 beheaded.

A.D. 1642. peace and welfare of the kingdom. Having bid farewell to his brother and friends; "And now (said he) one stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends." In preparing himself for the block, "I thank God" (added he) that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose." So saying, he submitted his neck to the executioner, who at one stroke severed his head from his body. Such was the fate of Sir Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, a nobleman of rare talents, invincible courage, and unshaken fidelity: but proud, contemptuous, arbitrary, and overbearing. He had, without doubt, advised the king to maintain his authority by force of arms; but he was altogether innocent and unconcerned in those measures by which Charles had involved himself in such a labyrinth of trouble and perplexity. Those had been devised and practised before he had any share in the administration; and the bill of attainder by which he fell, is a standing reproach upon both houses of parliament.

Rushworth
Whitelock.
Clarendon.

The king
in vain en-
deavours to
appease the
commons.

The king was extremely shocked at the death of Strafford, and thought he had every thing to fear from the violence of those men who had already treated him with such cruelty and contempt. Inspired with this apprehension, he resolved to appease them with all sorts of condescension. It was at this period that the tax of ship-money and the Star-chamber were abolished. Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, were expelled the house and imprisoned, for having been concerned in the conspiracy to seduce the army. All the taxes which the king had imposed, the extension of the forests, and the practice of imprisoning those who refused to comply

comply with such impositions, were voted contrary to law; and the greater part of monopolies was suppressed. It was likewise at this juncture that they passed the bill against pluralities, condemned the canons, and oath framed by the last convocation; carried up an accusation to the lords against thirteen bishops, who had assisted at that assembly; abolished the high commission. Dr. Wren bishop of Norwich, for having introduced innovations, and superstitious ceremonies in the church, was voted unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in church or commonwealth; and the lords, at the desire of the lower house, committed him to the Tower; voted the suppression of deans and chapters, and ordered all the subjects to subscribe the protestation. Lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who had been formerly in the opposition, but lately distinguished himself in the defence of Strafford, was now called up to the house of peers, and became the king's chief minister and confident. When the commons demanded that the Irish army should be disbanded, the king gave them to understand, that he had promised to send four thousand men into the Spanish service. The lower house petitioned his majesty that he would retract his promise; and he insisting upon the performance of it, as an affair in which his honour was engaged, they published a declaration, importing, That every person concerned in transporting the Irish troops to foreign parts, should be regarded as an enemy to the state. This step effectually frustrated the king's intention, for no ship-master would expose himself to inevitable ruin, by embarking in such service.

Nelson.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a conclusion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons suspecting that

He visits Scotland,

A. C. 1641. that he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the north, on pretence of visiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and proposed that both armies should be dismissed before his departure; which the king, at their request, postponed till the tenth day of August. Both were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well satisfied with their expedition. Then he set out upon his journey; but their distrust still subsisting, they proposed that a committee from both houses should attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, though in reality to be spies upon his majesty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office; so that lord Howard of Escrick was the only member of that house who undertook the journey; and of the commons, the committee consisted of Nathaniel Fienes, Sir William Armye, Sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hambden. The commons still continued sitting, and took several grievances into consideration. Then they resolved to adjourn from the ninth day of September till the twentieth day of October. This resolution was no sooner taken, than a great number of members from both houses retired to the country; and some rigid presbyterians took this opportunity to propose an alteration in the book of Common-prayer; which was so vigorously defended by Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, that no step was taken on the subject. The lords, during this dispute, voted that the book of Common-prayer should be used without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houses. The commons desired the lords would concur with them in publishing a declaration for suppressing all the late innovations in the church, and all diversions on the Lord's-day. The

The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing an order of their house, prohibiting all change in divine worship as established by law. The lower house absolutely rejected this proposal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and published through the whole kingdom. They at the same time appointed a committee of three and forty members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment: the lords established another for their house; and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth day of October.

Rushworth's
Whiteclock.

The king, attended by the duke of Lennox, lately honoured with the additional title of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, travelled post to Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquiesce in every thing which the parliament of Scotland proposed. James Graham earl of Montrose was at that time a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, through the influence of Argyle, who was his rival in popularity and ambition. During the treaty of Rippon, Montrose, though at first a covenantor, had conveyed a letter to the king, containing assurances of inviolable fidelity: and this being discovered, he was ever after suspected, and odious to the presbyterian party. He afterwards engaged the earls of Maréchal, Wigton, Athol, Mar, and many other noblemen, in an association to maintain the royal authority. This transpiring, he and his confederates were summoned before a committee of the states, when they declared they had no design to undertake any thing to the detriment of the public. The earl was again summoned by the parliament, which ordered him to be confined in the castle of Edinburgh, where he now remained. The king, in order to conciliate the affection of the Scottish nation, promoted Argyle to the dignity of a mar-

where he
assents to
divers popular
acts of
parliament.

4. C. 1641. a marquis, London to an earldom; general Lesley was created earl of Leven; Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers, were gratified with pensions. In parliament, the lords of the articles were set aside. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland, without proper qualification, such as possessing estates in the kingdom. A bill for triennial parliaments was passed; and it was decreed that no member of the privy-council, judge, or officer of state, should be appointed without the approbation of parliament. The lord Henry Ker, son to the earl of Roxburgh, sent a challenge to the marquis of Hamilton by the earl of Crawford, defying him to single combat, as a traitor to God, to his king, and his country: the marquis complained of his insolence to the king and the parliament, before whom he was obliged to ask pardon on his knees. Immediately after this disturbance was appeased, Hamilton and Argyle withdrew themselves abruptly from parliament, on pretence that a plot was formed against their lives, by the earl of Crawford, and some other gentlemen, who were immediately confined; but upon enquiry, it was found a false alarm, probably concerted between the English commissioners then at Edinburgh, and the two marquisses, to keep up the disquiets of both nations.

Guthry.

Nelson.

Intelligence of this pretended conspiracy being conveyed to Pym, chairman of the committee appointed to sit during the recess of parliament, the houses no sooner met, than he made a report of this affair. The commons immediately demanded a conference with the lords, to whom they represented their fears of a dangerous conspiracy by papists in Scotland; then proposed that the cities of London and Westminster should be strictly guarded, and the kingdom be put in a posture of defence.

force. The peers assented to the proposal; and both houses demanded a guard of the earl of Essex, whom the king had lately appointed general of the forces to the south of the river Trent. Next day warm debates arose in the house of commons, touching the declaration which they had published before the adjournment, and which many persons refused to obey, alledging, that such an order could not have the force of a law. The next subjects that ingrossed their attention was the prosecution of the bishops who had assisted at the last convocation; and the bill for excluding all prelates from sitting in parliament. In a conference with the lords, Pym made a speech against the bishops; and afterwards St. John explained the reasons for an act to abolish their votes in parliament. He said they had no inherent right as temporal lords, who are peers of the kingdom, because they were not the representatives of any class, not even of the clergy, who were otherwise represented in the convocation; because they could not act as temporal lords in causes of life and death; and several acts had passed in former reigns, without their consent, such as that of Elizabeth, touching the book of Common-prayer. In the reign of Henry VIII. and in the case of Dr. Standish, the judges declared, that the king had a power to convoke a parliament, without sending writs to the bishops. In the time of Edward I. the clergy had been excluded from a parliament held at Carlisle. It does not appear from antient records that prelates voted in affairs which concerned the clergy; for they either import that the king having consulted with the earls, barons, and other nobles, gave his assent to such an act; or that "The act was passed with the consent of the earls, barons, and other laymen," without any mention of the bishops. This scheme of exclusion met with such opposition in the house of lords,

Prosecution of the bishops by the English house of commons.

Rushworth,

A. C. 1648. where the bishops themselves voted; that it was postponed to another opportunity.

Had the leading men in the opposition entertained no other design but that of redressing the grievances of the nation, and ascertaining the liberties of the people, their aim was now accomplished, and they would have rested content with the triumphs they had obtained over the prerogative. But their views seem to have extended with their success: they resolved to humble the king in such a manner, that he should never have it in his power to punish them for the mortifications to which they had subjected him. They determined to abolish the hierarchy, not only as the constant support of monarchical government, but also as the bulwark and mound that opposed the tide of puritanism, which now bore so fair for overflowing the three kingdoms. The chiefs, who managed the machines of opposition in both houses, were the earl of Essex, the lords Say and Kimbolton, for the peers; Pym, Hambden, St. John, Fiennes, Vane, and Hollis, for the commons. Essex was a popular nobleman, of solid sense and great authority in parliament: vanity and ambition were his predominant foibles; and his conduct was in a good measure influenced by private animosity against the court, where he had been but indifferently treated. Lord viscount Say was close, ambitious, a bigotted puritan, and an indefatigable stickler against the arbitrary measures of the ministry. The lord Kimbolton had acquired great popularity by his good nature, generosity, and insinuating address. He disapproved of the court maxims from principle, and attached himself to the opposite party, with which he was in high estimation. Pym had more experience in parliament than any other member: he was a man of business, reflection, and sagacity, tinctured with republican principles, though not inspired

Character of
the earl of
Essex, the
lords Say
and Kimbolton.
Pym,
Hambden,
St. John,
Fiennes,
Vane, and
Hollis.

inspired with the fury of fanaticism. John Hamb. A. C. 1641. den possessed a great share of courage, cunning, and discernment; spoke with great art and energy in the house of commons, and concealed the most enterprizing genius under the cloak of diffidence, humility, and moderation. St. John was a natural son of the house of Bolingbroke, and a lawyer by profession. He had parts and industry; but was dark, cloudy, and reserved, proud, and revengeful, an enemy to the church from principle, and a foe to the court from resentment; for he had been imprisoned on suspicion of seditious practices. Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of the lord Say, inherited his father's principles both in politics and religion. He had acquired a good share of learning in the university of Oxford; spent some time in Geneva, Switzerland, and Scotland, where he was confirmed in his aversion to the church of England, and at length became a popular speaker in the house of commons. Sir Henry Vane, son to the secretary, possessed great natural talents, and the most profound dissimulation. His conception was quick and penetrating, and he spoke with great weight and facility. He had studied in Magdalen-college at Oxford, and afterwards travelled to Geneva, where he contracted the most rancorous hatred to the discipline and liturgy of the English church. He made a voyage to New-England, that he might enjoy liberty of conscience; and, upon his return to England, was appointed joint-treasurer of the navy: but he was incensed against the earl of Strafford, by that nobleman's procuring for himself the title of baron Raby, an house belonging to the Vane family, and prosecuted him with all the bitterness of revenge. In this pursuit he cultivated the friendship of Pym and his associates, and soon acquired the confidence of the whole party. But no one of the demagogues was

A. C. 1641. more valued and esteemed than Denzil Hollis, brother to the earl of Clare, a person of rare accomplishments and unblemished character. He had formerly opposed the court and the duke of Buckingham, and suffered a long imprisonment and severe prosecution, the memory of which he retained with the keenest acrimony. To these leaders, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Strode, Haslerigg, Hoatham, Cholmley, and Stapleton, were subordinate, obeying their dictates with the most implicit regard. The commons, not satisfied with the concessions they had already extorted from their sovereign, and planning still further alterations in the constitution, seemed now apprehensive of the king's reconciling himself intirely with his people. In order to blow up the embers of their animosity, they resolved to draw up and publish a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, in which they might recapitulate with exaggerations every instance of misconduct, and each arbitrary measure chargeable upon the king since his accession to the throne, and alarm the nation with imaginary dangers. This they imagined would provoke the king to take some step that would produce a new quarrel, and furnish them with a pretence for postponing the settlement of his revenues, which the king expected in return for all his condescension.

While the committee was employed in composing this famous remonstrance, their work was interrupted by an unexpected incident of such importance, as claimed their whole attention: this was the rebellion in Ireland. The old Roman catholic Irish had, by the increase of puritanism in that kingdom, been of late treated with great rigour in point of religion; so that their inveteracy against the protestant planters was inflamed with fresh rancour. When they reflected on the state of England, where the constitution was unhinged,

and

and the power of the sovereign almost annihilated A. C. 1642
 by the factious commons; when they considered,
 that the three armies in England, Scotland, and
 Ireland, were disbanded, except an handful of
 troops scattered up and down their own country in
 single companies, they thought the present con-
 juncture was the fairest opportunity they should
 ever enjoy for retrieving their ancient possessions,
 and re-establishing the exercise of their religion.
 They were quickened by the apprehension of fur-
 ther persecution from the puritanical spirit of the
 times: for the Scottish covenanters, and their
 brethren of England, had publicly threatened to
 exterminate the papists of Ireland. They were
 animated by seeing the success of the Scots, who
 had reduced the king to a compliance with all
 their demands. They were exhorted by their priests
 to rise in defence of their religion and liberty;
 they were encouraged with hope of succour by
 cardinal Richelieu; and their countrymen, who
 served in foreign armies, promised to discipline and
 conduct them in such a laudable enterprize. The
 protestants in Ireland were but a handful in com-
 parison with the number of the natives, among
 whom they lived in the most supine security. There
 was a magazine of arms, ammunition, and artillery
 at Dublin, almost quite unguarded; and Sir Wil-
 liam Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, the lords jus-
 tices, were altogether unequal to the task of go-
 vernment which they had undertaken. All these
 considerations occurred to Roger More, a man of
 valour and capacity, who inculcated them upon
 the lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'neal, two of
 the most powerful Irish chieftains. In a word, all
 the native Irish were engaged in a conspiracy to Rebellion
in Ireland
 expel the English. They resolved to rise through-
 out all the provinces in one day, and attack the
 English settlements; and lord Maguire, with Roger
 More,

A. C. 1647. More, undertook to surprize the castle of Dublin.

All the preparations were made for this insurrection ; Maguire and More had already repaired to Dublin with a good number of their confederates, and intended to attack the castle in the morning. One Oconnolly, a protestant, discovered the secret to the justices, who forthwith retired into the castle with a reinforcement, and alarmed the city : Maguire was taken, but Roger More escaped. This discovery did not prevent the general insurrection which began in Ulster. The unhappy English were first plundered, and then massacred without distinction of age or sex. Such scenes of cruelty were acted by Sir Phelim Oneal and his followers, that the bare description of them fills the mind with horror. Death and desolation appeared likewise in the other provinces, and even in more miserable shapes, though the rebels did not so deeply imbrue their hands in blood. They stripped the wretched English of their very cloaths, and drove men, women, and children naked into the fields, to perish by famine and the inclemencies of a tempestuous winter. The roads were crouded with such spectacles of distress and misery, as one would think must have softened the heart of the most savage barbarian. The shivering, the dying, and the dead ; the old and infirm, fainting with cold and hunger ; the children clamorous for food and shelter ; the mother weeping over her expiring infant ; the wife shrieking with terror and dismay ; the husband groaning with unutterable woe ; formed a most dismal variety of human sufferings and despair : nature, the most barbarous and uncultivated, would have been unable to perpetrate such barbarity, had it not been exasperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy. The ruffian bigots not only exulted in the calamity which they had produced, but even triumphed in the hope that those

those wretched sufferers would be damned to all eternity. In this forlorn condition some thousands reached the city of Dublin, where they were received with compassion and treated with humanity. Many died of strange distempers, occasioned by the complicated fatigues of mind and body which they had undergone. A good number sunk under the weight of grief and affliction; others refused all sustenance, unable to survive their families and friends. Above forty thousand helpless victims fell by this brutal barbarity, of which there is scarce a parallel in the records of any age or nation. The justices assembled all the troops that were not already surrounded by the rebels; and these, together with such as enlisted in the service, amounted to six thousand: but six hundred, being detached to the relief of Tredagh, besieged by the natives, were routed and put to the sword. The earl of Ormond, lieutenant-general, proposed to attack the insurgents before they should be armed and disciplined; but the justices, who were puritans, induced either by fear or worse motives, resolved to act upon the defensive only. The English of the Pale (such was the appellation given to the descendants of the first English settlers who still professed the religion of their forefathers) expressed their detestation of this rebellion, and were supplied with arms to be employed in defence of the government. But they soon joined the native Irish under the lord Gormanstone, so that the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened to besiege Dublin. In order to allure the people to their standard, they called themselves the queen's army, affirmed that their intent was to assert the royal prerogative against the insolence of a puritanical parliament; and Sir Phelim O'neal, having found a royal pa-

Temple.

Carte.

A. C. 1641. tent in the house of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, affixed the seal of it to a forged commission, which he pretended to have received from his majesty.

Resolution
in the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment for
reducing the
Irish rebels.

The king was no sooner informed of this revolt, by a letter from the north of Ireland, than he dispatched a messenger with intelligence to the parliament of England; and demanded immediate succours from the parliament of Scotland. But, notwithstanding all their professions of duty to the king, and attachment to the protestant religion, they excused themselves from taking any such measures, alledging, that as Ireland depended upon England, the English parliament would undoubtedly provide for its security; whereas, should they intermeddle in the affair of their own accord, they might incur the jealousy of their brethren. The commons of England being informed of this disaster, resolved, with the concurrence of the upper house, to borrow fifty thousand pounds of the city of London for the relief of Ireland: That the consent of the lords should be solicited for depriving the lord Weston of the government of the Isle of Wight, because he was a reputed papist: That the principal Roman catholics in England should be secured, and the queen's monastery of capuchins dissolved. Other precautions were taken with regard to foreigners, who were not protestants. They afterwards voted, That two hundred thousand pounds should be provided for the war of Ireland: That eight thousand men should be raised and transported to that country: That a magazine of arms and ammunition should be established at Chester for the use of Dublin; and the ammunition at Carlisle be sent to Carrickfergus: That the committee appointed for the affairs of Ireland should deliberate upon the means of recompensing those

those who should enlist as volunteers for this service; of granting a pardon to those of the rebels who should submit; and of setting a price on the heads of their leaders: That it should inquire in what shape they could use the assistance of the Scots to the best advantage; and bring in a bill for impressing soldiers for the war in Ireland.

Notwithstanding all this appearance of ardour, and the repeated importunities of the justices, the supplies they sent were so inconsiderable, that they seemed calculated to keep alive the war, rather than subdue the rebels. They had found their account in the Scottish invasion; and now they determined to make advantage of the Irish rebellion, to foment the fears of the people, and keep the king in a sort of dependence. Charles, with a view to disprove the calumny which the Irish had fixed upon his character, pressed the parliament, with redoubled instances, to take measures for suppressing the insurgents; and this eagerness supplied the commons with a pretence for suspecting his integrity. They affected to apprehend a design of enslaving the parliament when the kingdom should be unfurnished of troops; and really dreaded his influence with the army that should be raised. He had imprudently committed to their care and wisdom, the conduct and prosecution of the war, that they might proceed with the more vigour in an affair of such national importance. They interpreted this expression in the most unlimited sense, even to the annihilation of the king's authority. They raised money for the Irish war, but reserved the greatest part of it for other purposes: they removed arms from the king's magazines, and employed them afterwards against his own person: they enlisted men, and appointed officers, by which means they acquired great influence in the army; and though a considerable time elapsed before any troops were sent over,

A. C. 1641. over, the fault was never imputed to them, but to the malcontents about the king's person. With a view to mortify and provoke the king, they sent fresh instructions to their committee in Scotland, importing, that they had reason to believe the Irish rebellion was the effect of evil counsels, given by those who continued in places of trust and honour about the king. They desired his majesty to remove these evil counsellors, otherwise they should take more effectual measures to prevent the danger with which the kingdom was threatened. This address was a prelude to the remonstrance, which they brought into the house on the twenty-second day of November. It was an appeal to the people, replete with the most virulent malignity against the king, whose administration was charged anew with every shadow of a grievance which the nation had endured since the commencement of his reign; and even with every misfortune which had happened from the accidents of war, aggravated with all the force of rhetoric and hyperbole. There was still a moderate party in the house, that opposed this remonstrance with great vigour; and very warm debates arising, the commons sat till three o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of nine only, after many of the moderate members had retired, quite exhausted with fatigue. It was immediately printed, in consequence of another vote, which likewise met with strong opposition; nor did they even deign to communicate it to the upper house.

The remonstrance carried by a majority in the house of commons.

It is presented to the king at Hampton-court.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, the king returning from Scotland, was received in the city of London with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and respect; and when he arrived at Whitehall, he dismissed the guard which the earl of Essex had granted for the protection of parliament. Both houses petitioned, that the guard might be continued: but

but Charles observed, there was no necessity for A. C. 1648. maintaining such a guard, which served no other purpose but that of fomenting the fears and suspicions of the people. He promised, however, in case of necessity, to furnish them with a guard, under the command of the earl of Dorset: but this they rejected. The king retiring in a few days to Hampton-court, the commons sent thither a deputation, with the remonstrance tacked to a petition, representing, That the malignant party, whose conduct evidently tended to the advantage and growth of popery, was guided by jesuits, and other emissaries of Rome, which had even corrupted several bishops; and found means to insinuate themselves into the privy-council, and offices of trust about his majesty. They, for these reasons, besought him to concur with his people in a parliamentary way; in providing for the safety of the kingdom against the malicious designs of the papists: That he would consent to their purpose of expelling the bishops from parliament; of restraining the power they had usurped over the clergy; abolishing the innovations and vexations they had introduced; and of executing the good laws which had been enacted for securing the liberty of his subjects: That he would remove from his council those who favoured the oppression with which the people had been afflicted; and employ in the administration such persons only as should be agreeable to the parliament, notwithstanding the solicitation of any person whatever. Though the king could not but be shocked at this petition and remonstrance, which were in effect manifestos against him, printed and published contrary to his express desire, he made a very moderate, though general answer to the first; and in the sequel published a declaration in answer to the remonstrance: but his credit was by this time reduced so low with the nation, that it produced very little

A. C. 1643. little effect in his favour. In the beginning of December, the king going to the house of lords to pass the act of tonnage and poundage for a few months only, gave both houses to understand, That far from repenting his having passed the bills which had been presented during this session, he would repeat the same conduct on the same occasion; and grant every thing that could be reasonably demanded for the maintenance of the liberties and religion of his subjects. He recommended dispatch in the relief of Ireland; and desired they would appoint commissioners to treat with the two Scottish noblemen deputed by the parliament of that kingdom, to receive their proposals touching the succours to be sent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for this purpose. The Irish rebels, having in a memorial to the justices, demanded liberty of conscience, the commons of England desired a conference with the lords: and both houses solemnly declared, that they would never consent to a toleration of the Roman religion in Ireland.

Difference
between the
king and the
commons,
touching the
bill for pressing
soldiers.

The king and the puritan party seemed equally suspicious, and afraid of each other. The commons intended to employ ten thousand Scots in the reduction of Ireland, that England might not be left unprovided. The king desired to send over an equal number of English and Scots, and the lords espoused his opinion. The commons declared, That unless the bill for pressing should pass, it would be impossible to levy troops in England for the service. They had already imprisoned lord Dillon, and lord Taaffe, sent to the king by the lord justices of Ireland, with propositions from the rebels; and they seized their papers, among which they hoped to find something to the prejudice of their sovereign. They petitioned the king to declare the Irish rebels and traitors; and he published a proclamation for this pur-

purpose: but by the secretary's order, the printer was forbid to cast off a greater number than fifty copies. The king having received notice of an intended tumult at Westminster, ordered the sheriff to place a guard upon the parliament, which was immediately dismissed by the house of commons. The king being informed of their having brought in a bill for pressing soldiers, in which there was a clause contrary to his prerogative of levying troops; and that this bill had been already sent to the lords, he resolved to prevent its being enacted into a law without some qualification. He convened both houses, and told them, he was content to pass the bill, provided they would insert this clause, "Saving the rights of king and people," A committee for both houses was immediately appointed, to take this proposal into consideration; and, upon their report, the lords and commons voted, That the king had violated the privileges of parliament, in proposing a limitation to a bill before it was presented; in taking cognizance of a bill while it was in agitation; and, in expressing resentment against him or them, who had made any motion about the bill while it was in debate.

They published a declaration, and presented an address upon the same subject; to which he answered in writing, that nothing was farther from his intention than any thought of violating their privileges. He gave them further cause of offence, in taking the lieutenancy of the Tower from Sir William Balfour, who was their creature; and bestowing it upon colonel Lunsford, a man of an enterprising spirit, and a very indifferent character. The Londoners immediately presented a petition against this officer, as a man of bad morals, representing the importance of such a trust, and intreating the commons to take the affair into their consideration. The lower house desired the concurrence of

The commons demand that Lunsford shall be deprived of the lieutenancy of the Tower.

A. C. 1644. of the lords, in petitioning his majesty to appoint Sir John Conyers lieutenant of the Tower; but the peers refused to concur with a demand which was so manifestly contrary to the royal prerogative. The commons, incensed at this repulse, voted, that Lunsford was not a proper person for this office: they published a declaration, specifying the causes of their fear and distrust; expatiating upon the continual obstacles they encountered in the upper house, which was filled with bishops and popish lords; and protesting against all the mischiefs that would happen, should the command of the Tower remain in the hands of Lunsford: at the same time, they desired the earl of Newport to reside in the place of which he was constable. The apprentices assembling in great numbers, presented a petition to the king against papists, innovators, and bishops; and the whole city was filled with tumult. Then Charles deprived Lunsford of his office; but, at the same time, dismissed the earl of Newport from his government, because he had been told, that during his absence in Scotland, the earl, at an assembly in Kensington, where mention was made of a conspiracy in that kingdom, said, "If there is really such a conspiracy, we have his wife and children in our power." The earl, however, denied that he had ever used such an expression.

The earl of
Newport
dismissed
from the of-
fice of con-
stable.

Tumults at
Westminster
countenanc-
ed by the
commons.

The leaders of the opposition, as a previous step to the exclusion of the bishops, thought proper to excite popular clamours against them, and employed their emissaries to raise tumults. A great multitude of the populace assembling at Westminster, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops," and insulted some prelates going to parliament. Captain Hyde, with some other disbanded officers being present, drew his sword, and proposed to chastise those Round-heads: but being unsupported, he was apprehended and carried before the commons, who

com-

committed him to prison. Hence arose the appellation of Round-heads, suggested by the cropped hair worn by the apprentices; who, in their turn, reproached their antagonists with the name of Cavaliers. In a few hours after this adventure, Lunsford and some other officers fell upon the multitude with their swords, and wounded above twenty apprentices. An infinite number of the populace immediately crowded to Westminster, armed with swords and staves; and the two cities were filled with uproar and confusion. The mayor of London ordered the gates to be shut: the king sent for the trained-bands to Whitehall. The lords, by their usher, commanded the people to retire; and the mob refusing to obey the order, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing a declaration against tumults, and desiring a guard of his majesty. The lower house pretended it was too late to deliberate upon such a proposal: in the mean time, they empowered a committee to set at liberty such of the rioters as were imprisoned. The tumults continuing next day, they took no step to disperse the people; and Mr. Pym being exhorted to use his influence for this purpose, is said to have replied, "God forbid that the people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires."

Twelve prelates meeting at the house of the archbishop of York, subscribed a protest, which was presented to the king and lords, importing, That as they had an incontestible right to vote in parliament, they were ready to do their duty, if not prevented by force and violence: That they abhorred all opinions tending to the advancement of popery: That as they had been insulted, and their lives endangered by the fury of the populace, they could no longer repair to the house of peers, unless measures should be taken for their personal safety: and therefore they protested against all laws, votes, and

Protest by
twelve bi-
shops,

A. C. 1641. and resolutions, that should be made in their absence. The lords no sooner received this protest, which was, in effect, an effort to dissolve or suspend the parliament; than they demanded a conference with the commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to accuse the bishops of high treason, for having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws, and the very essence of parliaments.

who are accused of high treason, and imprisoned. This resolution was immediately executed; and the twelve bishops were committed to prison. Next day the commons sent a deputation to the king, desiring he would appoint a guard for their security, under the command of Essex, in whom they could confide; and the king demanding a message to this effect in writing, they, in the mean time, provided themselves with a number of halberds in their own defence. They were apprehensive of Lunsford and his confederates, as well as of the students of the inns of court, who had appeared in a body at Whitehall, and offered their service to his majesty, from whom they met with a very gracious reception. He dreaded the consequence of such tumultuous assemblies of the populace; he sent orders to the common-council to take measures for preventing those disorderly meetings; and in answer to the message of the commons, he said, he saw no foundation for their fears; that he would protect them with the same care he should exert in defence of his own wife and children; or should this assurance prove insufficient, he would appoint a guard, for which he himself would be responsible:

A. C. 1642. The mutual suspicion and distrust subsisting between the king and parliament, had now proceeded so far, that both sides foresaw a rupture; and each endeavoured to find a pretext from the other's conduct. At this critical conjuncture, the king took the most imprudent step that ever was devised by a weak and rash minister. The lord Digby persuaded

The king orders five commoners to be impeached of high treason;

suaded him to impeach the most popular men in parliament of high treason. On the third day of January, the attorney-general going to the house of peers, gave them to understand the king had commanded him to accuse the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, Arthur Haslerig, John Pym, John Hambden, and William Strode, of high treason : at the same time, he delivered the general articles of the charge, which he had received from his majesty's own hand. They were taxed with having endeavoured to subvert the government, strip the king of his prerogative, and vest the subjects with an arbitrary power over the lives, effects, and liberties of the people : with having calumniated the king, in order to render him odious to his people : with having attempted to persuade the late army to disobey the king's orders, and to assist them in executing their treasonable designs : with having traiterously incited and invited a foreign power to invade England : with having essayed to subvert the foundation and essence of parliaments : and with having employed force and terror, and encouraged tumults against the king and parliament. The attorney added, it was the king's desire, that a committee should be appointed to examine witnesses, under an oath of secrecy ; and that the lords would secure the persons of the accused. The peers immediately nominated a committee to examine the regularity of these proceedings, and to search the registers, that they might know, whether or not a peer of the realm had, ever before this period, been impeached at the bar of the lords by the king's attorney-general : at the same time, they transmitted the accusation of the five members of the lower house to the commons, who having received notice that the king's officers had sealed up the cabinets of those accused members, sent their serjeant to take off the seals, and imprison those who had applied them.

A. C. 1642. An order was likewise made, that in case the same violence should be offered to any other member, he might require the assistance of the constable, to apprehend and detain the officer so acting.

and goes in person to the house in order to apprehend them.

In a conference with the upper house, they expatiated upon this insult; and as the king had a strong guard at Whitehall, proposed, that the parliament should take the same precaution, or adjourn to some place of safety. During their deliberations on this subject, a serjeant at arms repaired to the lower house; and in the king's name, demanded that the accused members should be delivered into his hands. The commons sent a deputation to the king, representing, that they would take his message into consideration; and that, in the mean time, the five accused members should be ready to answer any charge according to law. They were accordingly ordered to attend every day in the house. The king deferred his answer till next morning, but declared that the serjeant had acted in obedience to his command. The commons being assembled next day, were informed that the king approached with his band of pensioners, and a great number of armed attendants. The five members immediately withdrew; and they had scarce quitted the house, when the king entering, walked up to the speaker's chair, saying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must make use of your chair for a moment." Having seated himself, and looked round, he told the house he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither: that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high-treason, seeing they would not deliver them to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know, whether any of them were in the house. The speaker falling on his knees, replied, That he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he begged

Rushworth.
Nelson.
Whitelock.

ged his majesty's pardon, that he could give no other answer. The king carefully surveying the house, said the birds were flown, but he expected they would secure and deliver them into his hands. He declared his intention was, to try them in a fair and legal manner; and maintain whatever had been done in favour of the subject. When he retired, a great number of members cried aloud, "Privilege, privilege!" so that he heard the exclamation. Then the house was adjourned till next day, when they voted, That the king had violated their privileges: and, That they could not assemble again in the same place, until they should have obtained satisfaction, and a guard for their security. They appointed a committee of four and twenty members to sit in Guildhall, and deliberate upon the steps that should be taken for securing the kingdom, and maintaining the privileges of parliament. Then they informed the lords of the transaction of the preceding day; and adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh day of January.

The king having ordered the mayor of London to assemble the common-council at Guildhall, went thither, and in passing through the streets had the mortification to hear the people exclaim, "Privilege, privilege!" Nay, a paper was thrown into his coach, inscribed with these words, "To your tents, O Israel." He told the common-council, that he was come to demand the persons accused of high-treason, who, he understood, were concealed in the city. He demanded their assistance in apprehending the delinquents, that they might be tried according to law; and he declared, upon his royal word, that his intention was to defend the protestant religion to the last day of his life against all its enemies. This declaration had very little weight with the citizens, who were generally of the puritan faction; and had severely smarted under his administration.

He harangues the mayor and common-council at Guildhall.

A. C. 1642. stration. Instead of complying with his desire, the common-council presented a petition, representing the decay of trade, and the terrors of the citizens, occasioned by the progress of the rebellion in Ireland, fomented by the papists of England: they complained of the delay of succours destined for Ireland; of a plot against the protestant religion; the change of lieutenant of the Tower; the extraordinary armaments at Whitehall; endeavours to gain over the students of the law; the misunderstanding between king and parliament, and his majesty's entering the house of commons to seize some of the members, contrary to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in his answer, made a particular reply to all these articles; and concluded with a profession of particular esteem for the city of London. He next day published a proclamation, commanding all magistrates and officers of justice, to apprehend the accused members, and convey them to the Tower; but no regard was paid to his professions or commands. The committee of four and twenty came to the following resolutions: That the publication of the articles charged against the accused members, was a manifest violation of the privileges of parliament, and a seditious act tending to the interruption of the public peace: That the said privileges could not be properly maintained, unless his majesty should please to name those who had advised him to seal the closets and cabinets of the accused members; to send a serjeant at arms, with orders to arrest them in the house of commons; to go thither himself; and to publish the charge in the form of a proclamation, to the end that those pernicious counsellors might be brought to condign punishment.

The king, afraid of exposing himself to some insult from such a tumultuous populace, retired to Windsor; and the house of commons meeting on the

the eleventh day of January at Westminster, the committee went thither by water, attended by a great number of watermen, who undertook to guard them from violence. Charles, in order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, sent a message to the two houses, giving them to understand, that he desisted from his prosecution of the lord Kimbolton, and the five members: that his intention was to proceed against them in a more unexceptionable manner: and that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life. He afterwards repeated the same assurances in a second message; and intreated them to deliberate upon the situation of Ireland, as an interesting subject that required vigour and dispatch. Far from being satisfied with these instances of condescension, they confirmed the resolution of their committee, in the form of a declaration. They impeached the attorney-general for having violated their privileges, in presenting articles against their members to the upper house, although he acted by his majesty's express command; and the two houses petitioned the king to communicate the proofs he could produce against the six members. The king left it to their choice, whether he should proceed against them before the parliament, or according to common law. They rejected the alternative, and insisted upon their former demand. Then Charles, in a third message, desisted intirely from the pursuit; and as a proof of his affection for his subjects, offered to grant a general pardon in such manner as should be agreeable to the parliament. Even this concession produced no effect in his favour. They, in another petition, demanded that he would be pleased to deliver up to justice those evil counsellors by whom he had been misled; and the lords passed sentence against Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general, declaring him incapable of exercising any

The commons impeach the attorney-general.

A. C. 1643. other employment than that which he at present enjoyed; and committing him to custody during
 Rushworth. the pleasure of the house.

Nelson. The mutual distrust of the king and parliament daily increased. Sir John Biron, lieutenant of the Tower, was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, to explain the reasons that induced him to send arms and ammunition to Whitehall, at the time when the king entered the lower house; but he excused himself from obeying their citation, as he had his majesty's express command to keep within his garrison. The commons rejected the king's offer of furnishing them with a guard commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and ordered major-general Skippon to attend them every day with two companies of the London militia. Hearing that lord Digby had assembled about two hundred officers on horseback at Kingston upon Thames, they sent orders to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties to raise their posses, and attack those who should attempt to invade the peace of the kingdom: and they cautioned colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, against delivering up the place to any person, or admitting any troops, but in consequence of the king's order, notified by both houses of parliament. They circulated a report that the king had formed the design of surprising Portsmouth; and even examined some evidences on the subject. The lords sent an express order to lord Digby, to return and resume his seat in parliament; but knowing himself obnoxious to both houses, as the king's chief counsellor and confident, he prudently withdrew himself from the kingdom.

Lord Digby
 retires to the
 continent.

The two
 houses ap-
 point Sir
 John Hotham
 governor of Hull,

The lords and commons concurred in appointing Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, where there was a magazine of arms, which the king had purchased for the Scottish war. Hotham received an order from the parliament, of which he was a member,

ber, forbidding him to deliver the place to any person whatsoever, but such as should be commissioned by the king and both houses of parliament. They brought in a bill for adjourning themselves to some other place of safety, as though they believed themselves in danger at Westminster. They forbade the earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, and the lieutenant of the Tower, to part with any cannon or warlike stores: they ordered the sheriffs of London and Westminster to keep a constant guard for blocking up the Tower. They seized some saddles designed for Kingston; and in consequence of false information given by Bagshaw, one of their own members, they directed Skippon, whom they had raised to the dignity of a major-general, to detach a party of horsemen to Windsor for intelligence. The earls of Essex and Holland, being ordered to give attendance on the king, as lord-chamberlain and groom of the stole, the lords forbade them to absent themselves from parliament, where their presence was necessary for the service of the public. Such acts of usurpation were manifest proofs of their having already annihilated the king's authority.

and block-
up the
Tower of
London.

During these transactions, the protestant interest in Ireland remained in a most forlorn situation. Charles offered to levy ten thousand men for that service; but the parliament insisted upon an act for pressing soldiers, that they might have it in their power to extend their influence, by granting commissions to their own adherents. A bill for this purpose had been sent up to the lords, but had not yet passed the upper house. Mean while, the Scottish commissioners offered their mediation to compromise the differences between the king and parliament; but as they had not previously communicated their intention to his majesty, he rejected their offer as an insult; while the two houses thanked

P 4

them

A. C. 1642. them for this mark of their affection. Nevertheless, he assented to a proposal of the Irish committee, that two thousand five hundred Scottish troops already levied, should be forthwith transported to the north of Ireland, and be put in possession of Carrickfergus for their head-quarters.

Some Scots troops sent over to the north of Ireland.

Petitions delivered to the house of commons, by apprentices, porters, women, the mayor and aldermen, and divers counties.

The commons still continued to court popularity, and alarm the nation with imaginary terrors. The accused members had been brought to the house in triumph, attended by a cavalcade of the citizens. Petitions were delivered by the apprentices, porters, and even by a multitude of women, headed by a brewer's wife, who compared herself to the woman of Tekoah; and claimed a right equal to that of men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, because Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. Addresses of the same nature were presented by the inhabitants of Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Essex, complaining of the decay of trade, the growth of popery, and the malignant party by which the king was misled; petitioning, that the evil counsellors might be removed from his majesty: that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence by order of the two houses: that the bishops should be deprived of their votes and seats in parliament: and protesting they would hazard their lives and fortunes in forwarding the good work. All these petitioners were thanked and caressed by Pym and his associates, while those who addressed them, in favour of the church and monarchy, were discouraged, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents. The committee for the affairs of Ireland, having demanded of the city of London one hundred thousand pounds by way of loan, for the relief of that kingdom, the mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the commons, declaring their incapacity to levy any sum by way of imposition, without the consent of the lenders, which could not

be

be obtained, because the money formerly borrowed A. C. 1643. of them was not yet repaid, nor applied to the relief of Ireland, for which it had been demanded. They said the citizens were discouraged by the king's refusing to employ thirteen thousand Scots for that service; by the delay in passing the bill for pressing soldiers; in disarming the papists; in putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; in appointing a lieutenant of the Tower, in whom the nation could confide. They complained that the king's ships were employed in transporting delinquents out of the kingdom: that many thousands of people unknown, concealed themselves about Covent-Garden for some sinister purpose: that, by the misunderstanding between the king and parliament, the violation of privileges, the neglect of suppressing protections, punishing delinquents, and executing condemned priests and jesuits; trade was decayed, money became scarce, and workmen desperate: that all these evils arose from a malignant party employed in posts of honour and confidence about his majesty's person; and that they were supported by the interest of bishops and popish lords, that sat in the house of peers.

In a conference between the two houses, these petitions were communicated to the lords by Mr. Pym, who took this occasion to pronounce an acrimonious speech, expatiating upon the groans, the agony, the terror, the perplexity of the nation, the variety of dangers to which the kingdom was exposed, the calamities from which these dangers proceeded; and the multiplicity of influences that constituted the source of these calamities. He pretended that the kingdom was in danger from the designs of foreign princes, already armed to take advantage of its intestine divisions; from the multitude of papists at home; from the insurrection of the common people; and from the rebellion in Ireland. He imputed these dangers to obstructions in the

Inflammatory speech of Pym at a conference between the two houses.

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A.C. 1642 reformation of the church; to the power of the bishops and the corruption of the clergy; to the interruption of commerce, which could not be charged upon the commons; and to the delay of succouring the protestants in Ireland, in whose behalf they had exerted their utmost endeavours. He said, that some of those who were now at the head of the rebellion, had obtained passports from his majesty: that the commons had been intimidated in the prosecution of delinquents; and the king's vessels employed in conveying to another country those who fled from the justice of parliament: that the kingdom was exposed to invasion and insurrection, by the decayed condition of the fleet and fortifications, as well as by the want of a proper power to regulate the militia; that the deliberations of parliament had been interrupted by violent conspiracies, violation of privileges, and repeated efforts to sow the seeds of division between the two houses: that all these mischiefs originally sprung from the pernicious counsellors that misled his majesty: it was this malignant influence that engendered the war with Scotland, the rebellion in Ireland, the corruption of religion, the loss of national liberty, and the horrible attempts which had been made to destroy the very essence of parliaments. He harangued upon the innocence and virtue of the commons, which had been so basely calumniated by the malignant party, and he conjured the lords to concur vigorously with the commons in their endeavours to save the nation. The sensible reader will perceive, that the fears of invasion were chimerical; and that the kingdom was threatened with no danger but from that national distraction which they themselves fomented. Pym was solemnly thanked by the speaker, in the name of the commons, for his excellent speech, which was ordered to be printed and published. The king finding himself accused of hav-

ing granted passports to the rebels, sent a message A. C. 1642. to the house, demanding reparation for such malicious calumny. The house vindicated Pym, and named several persons who had obtained passports for Ireland: the king affirmed that they had been granted while he was in Scotland, and before he knew of their order for shutting up the ports of the kingdom. The house replied by a declaration, in Rushworth. which they maintained the truth of Pym's assertion, and absolutely refused to grant that satisfaction which the king demanded.

Charles, who had every thing to apprehend from the malevolence of such a faction, sent a message to both houses, proposing that they should speedily and seriously consider the necessary means for maintaining the royal authority, settling the king's revenues, securing the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, the safety of the protestant religion as professed in England; and for regulating the ceremonies of divine worship in such a manner that they should not for the future give any just cause of offence. All these particulars being digested and reduced into one body, he and the parliament would be better able to judge of them. He said, that, by his concessions, it would appear how far he had always been from forming any of those designs which the fears and jealousies of some persons had suggested; and how ready he would be to exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes, in their acts of grace and favour toward their subjects. The commons thanked him for his goodness, promising to labour seriously in that which he had proposed; and they told him that they had desired the concurrence of the lords, in beseeching his majesty to put the militia, the Tower of London, and all the other strengths of the kingdom, in the hands of those who should be recommended to him by the

They present an address to the king touching the militia.

two

A. C. 1845. two houses. To this address the king replied, that if Sir John Biron should be found unworthy of retaining the lieutenancy of the Tower, he would deprive him of that office; otherwise he could not allow his servants to be exposed to such undeserved affronts; that he would never confer that post upon any person whom the parliament should have room to distrust; but that he would reserve to himself the nomination, as a jewel inseparable from his crown, and a right with which he was invested by the fundamental laws of the kingdom: with respect to the militia, which ought to depend upon his authority alone, he thought it necessary that it should be regulated for the safety of the kingdom; and, as soon as the two houses should have digested a scheme for that purpose, he would signify his sentiments in such a manner as should be agreeable to his own honour and the security of his people. At the same time he exhibited an undeniable proof of his desire to oblige them, by depriving Sir John Biron of the lieutenancy, and conferring it upon Sir John Conyers, whom the commons had recommended for that office.

They prepare an ordinance for establishing the militia.

Nevertheless, the two houses presented an address, beseeching him to commit the Tower of London, the other strong places, and the militia of the kingdom, to such persons as they should propose: and he desired them to make out a list of those whom they approved as commanders of strong holds and the militia, assuring them that he would employ such as they should recommend, provided he should have no just cause of exception. The parliament immediately prepared an ordinance for the regulation of the militia, to which they fixed a list of the names they recommended for the lieutenants of the counties, and delivered them with a petition, demanding his majesty's assent. Charles, finding their demands increased in proportion

portion to his condescension, foresaw that the contest would end in a civil war; and thought it high time to provide for his own safety and that of his family. He sent the queen to Holland, on pretence of her accompanying the princess Mary to the prince of Orange her husband; and, being destitute of money, he furnished her with some of the crown-jewels, to be sold in case of emergency. He had, by means of the earl of Newcastle, endeavoured to secure the magazine of Hull before Hotham was sent to command that place, and he now secretly tampered with Goring, governor of Portsmouth. Nor will any unprejudiced person blame him for taking these precautions against the designs of a powerful faction that seemed bent upon his ruin, by which alone the chiefs of it thought they could be secured from the vengeance of injured royalty. He saw himself fallen from the highest pinnacle of envied monarchy to a state of the most abject dependence; deprived of his prerogative, and every enjoyment for which a king could wish to inherit the throne of his ancestors; robbed of his honour and reputation, and defrauded of his people's love by the vilest arts of calumny and malice; exposed to every species of insult and mortification; bereft of his friends, deserted by his counsellors; obliged to sacrifice his best ministers to cruel, unrelenting party-rage; and to part (perhaps) for ever with those who were most dear to his affection. He saw the regal power already trampled under foot, the civil constitution altered and impaired; and the hierarchy, to which he was conscientiously attached, in the most imminent danger of being overturned by fanaticism and religious phrenzy.

The queen retires to Holland.

When the ordinance was presented, he told them, that being upon the road to Dover with the queen and princess, he could not give an answer

The king refuses his assent to the ordinance.

to

A. C. 1642. to an affair of such importance till after his return. The two houses importuned him in another petition; and he sent his answer, importing, that he was willing to appoint commanders for the militia according to their recommendation, except in the city of London, and other corporations, which by their charters were vested with the power of commanding their own militia: but that he could not strip himself for an indefinite time of that power vested in him by the laws of God and man for the defence of his people; he desired therefore that this affair should be settled by act of parliament, for the satisfaction of all his subjects. The houses voted that this answer was not satisfactory; and drew up a third petition, which was delivered to him at Theobalds, whither he had retired. They repeated the old strain of jealousies, fears, dangers, and pernicious counsellors. They declared, that in case he should persist in his refusal, they would pass the ordinance by the authority of the two houses. They intreated him to reside in some place near London; to give order that his royal highness should fix his habitation in St. James's palace; and they begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation without the authority of the parliament. "You speak
 " of jealousies and fears: said the king in his answer) lay your hands to your hearts, and ask
 " yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies?" He said, his answer touching the militia was so agreeable to justice and reason, that he should not alter it in any point: that he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament: that he would take care of his son in such a manner, as should justify him to God as a father, and to his dominions as a king: he assured them, upon his honour,

honour, that he had no thoughts but of peace and justice to his people; and that he relied on the goodness and providence of God for his preservation.

The commons, in consequence of this answer, immediately voted it a refusal to grant the demands of the two houses touching the militia: they resolved, That the denial was suggested by the enemies of the state, and would hazard the peace and safety of the kingdom: That his majesty's removal to any remote part would endanger the kingdom and prejudice the proceedings of parliament: That an examination should be set on foot to find out and bring to condign punishment the authors of such pernicious advice: That the lords should be moved to concur with the commons in these votes, and to appoint a select committee that should join another of the commons to deliberate upon the measures to be taken in such an emergency. Then the two houses published their ordinance for establishing the militia under the command of persons nominated for that purpose in counties and corporations. On the ninth day of March, the king, being at Newmarket, was presented with a declaration from both houses, explaining the causes of their fears and suspicions, which they ascribed to a pretended plot against the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counsellors by whom his majesty had been misled. They imputed the rebellion in Ireland to the machinations of English papists countenanced by the government. They particularised all the instances of violation of privileges, which they had undergone; and among these enumerated the king's saying, he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament. They besought him to remove from his presence those evil counsellors who were the authors of all the dangers and troubles to which the

It is published by the two houses, who present a declaration to the king at Newmarket.

A. C. 1642 the nation was exposed; and to reside with the prince in the neighbourhood of London. The king, being thus harrassed out of all patience, told the committee, that he would take time to answer this strange and unexpected declaration. He said, God in his good time would discover the bottoms of all plots and treasons, and then he should stand right in the eyes of his people. "I still confess my fears" (added he) and call God to witness, that they "are greater for the true protestant profession, my people, and laws, than for my own rights and safety; though I must tell you I conceive that none of these are free from danger. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land." Charles could not hear the declaration read without manifest marks of emotion. He interrupted it several times, exclaiming, "That's false: that's a lie." Next day, when he delivered his answer in writing to the committee, the earl of Pembroke asked, Whether the militia might not be granted according to the parliament's desire for a time? The king replied with great warmth, "No, by God, not for an hour."

He passes a bill for excluding bishops from seats in parliament; and another for pressing soldiers.

No wonder that his patience was by this time exhausted, after having yielded so much for their satisfaction. He had already passed the two bills which they had so eagerly prosecuted; one for excluding the bishops from their seats in parliament; and the other for pressing soldiers into the service. He had, on that occasion, sent a message to the two houses, importing, That he had passed those bills for the satisfaction of his people, and to shew his passionate desiring of finding some means to appease the troubles of the nation: That he would
issue

issue a proclamation, ordering the laws against recusants to be vigorously executed : That, with the parliament's consent, he would banish all Roman priests from the kingdom, within the term of twenty days : That he would leave to the houses the care of reforming the government and liturgy of the church : That if the parliament should think his presence necessary for the reduction of the rebels in Ireland, he would cheerfully venture his person in that service: and, That as he had received a petition from the inhabitants in Suffolk, representing the decay of their cloth manufactures, he earnestly recommended the consideration of that affair to both houses, and would readily concur in any resolution they should take for the encouragement of commerce. The houses thanked him for having passed the two bills ; but took no further notice of his message. Before the queen embarked for Holland they sent a deputation to her to vindicate themselves from a report that was circulated, implying that they intended to accuse her of high treason. They intercepted and opened some letters from lord Digby at Middleburg in Zealand, to the queen and Sir Lewis Dives ; and desired her majesty would not maintain any correspondence with that nobleman, whom they resolved to impeach as a traitor to his country.

In the midst of the contest about the militia, Charles informed the parliament of his resolution to go and put himself at the head of the English troops in Ireland ; as a previous step to which expedition he intended to raise a guard of two thousand infantry and two hundred horse in Cheshire and the neighbouring counties ; and he desired the two houses would settle a fund for their subsistence. Whether they believed the king was in earnest, or sought only to fix upon him the odium of a refusal, they presented an address, specifying their rea-

He proposes to venture his person against the rebels in Ireland.

A. C. 1642. sons for not complying with his demand; declaring that should he levy those troops without their consent, they would interpret his conduct into a design of inspiring the people with terror; and employ their utmost efforts in suppressing the forces that should be thus assembled. They likewise protested, that in case the king should absent himself from the realm, they would not obey the commissioners or regents whom he should appoint to rule in his absence; but that they themselves would govern the kingdom according to law, and the oath of allegiance they had taken. The king, in an answer to this address, refuted all their arguments; and they published a replication: but this affair had no other consequence; nor does it appear that the king really intended to leave England. The animosity between him and the majority in both houses had risen to such a flame, that each side thought a civil war inevitable, and endeavoured to shift the blame from itself by appeals to the public.

Arbitrary resolutions of the two houses concerning the militia.

If Charles had yielded the point of the militia for a limited time, in all probability his adversaries would have been greatly embarrassed with respect to their subsequent conduct: but they took care to inflame his resentment, by inserting harsh expressions in their addresses; and he was not yet so destitute as to be under a necessity of leaving himself entirely at the mercy of his enemies. On the fifteenth day of March he sent a message to both houses, signifying his design to go and reside for some time at York, recommended the affairs of Ireland to their serious attention: with respect to the militia he observed, that as he had been always careful of their privileges, he hoped they would not violate his rights, of which the most fundamental article imported, that his subjects should not be obliged to obey any ordinance to which he had not given his assent. Next day the commons, with the approbation

Clarendon.

tion of the upper house, resolved, That they should adhere to their preceding votes concerning the militia: That the king's absence was a total hindrance to the affairs of Ireland: That when the parliament, which is the supreme court of the kingdom, declares what is law, no person ought to question or contradict its orders; and that a prohibition to obey them is a great violation of privileges: That a committee of both houses should examine who was author of the last message from his majesty: That those who advised the king to absent himself from parliament were enemies to the peace of the kingdom, and might be justly suspected of favouring the rebellion in Ireland. The lords voted that the ordinance for the security of the kingdom was not contrary to the oath of allegiance: That commissions under the great seal to lieutenants of counties were null and illegal: and, That every person exercising the power over the militia by virtue of these commissions, should be deemed a perturbator of the public peace. The two houses concurred in voting, That the kingdom being in manifest danger from foreign enemies, as well as from a popish malignant party at home, there was an indispensable necessity for putting it in a posture of defence: That the two houses had addressed his majesty, that he might settle the militia of the kingdom in such a manner as they had judged convenient; but he had refused his assent: That, in case of extreme danger, and the king's refusal, the ordinance published by the two houses concerning the militia, was binding upon the people by the fundamental laws of the realm. That those appointed lieutenants of counties by the two houses should receive their orders for the exercise of their employments. This was another instance of the most flagrant usurpation in the two houses, which, neither by law, custom, nor constitution, had the least shadow of right to assume such authority,

A. C. 1649. rity, or even to arrogate the name of parliament, without the concurrence of the king, who constitutes the head of that body. Nothing could at any time excuse such acts of power in the two houses, except the most imminent danger impending over the commonwealth; and here was no danger but of their own creating.

Further
context up-
on this
subject.

Some time after these resolutions, they received the king's declaration, in answer to that which had been presented to him at Newmarket. Before this was delivered to the houses, they had finished an address, by way of reply to the answer which he had returned to the committee at Newmarket; and he wrote another reply to their last remonstrance. Their addresses were filled with the most invidious insinuations against the misconduct of the ministry in the former part of the king's reign; with a rancorous recapitulation of every particular which could be construed into a breach of privilege; the hackneyed repetition of fears and jealousies, popish plots and invasions, and the most obstinate perseverance in demanding the king's assent to every proposition they could make against his person and government. A spirit of candour, sincerity, injured innocence, and good sense, breathes through all the king's answers. He frankly acknowledged the errors of his former conduct; reminded them of the atonement he made by his subsequent concessions; refuted the cruel calumnies which had been forged to his prejudice; explained his motives for refusing to comply with their demand; and expressed the most earnest desire of promoting the happiness of his people. "If you think (said he, in his last answer) you have a right to demand what you please, and in whatever stile you judge proper; and, if we cannot refuse it, nor give the reasons of our refusal, without being accused of having violated your privileges, or of having been advised by the ene-
"mies

“ mies of the kingdom, and fautors of the rebellion A. C. 1642.
 “ in Ireland, as we are in the votes upon our mes-
 “ sage, dated at Huntingdon; you will reduce our
 “ rights to a very small compass. In plain Eng-
 “ lish, this is taking from us the liberty of speech;
 “ a deprivation which would be unjust, even if we
 “ were a subject: but, being your king, we leave
 “ it to others to find a suitable name for such con-
 “ duct.” The two houses, with a view to make a Rushworth.
 merit of their condescension, passed a bill for estab-
 blishing the militia, as the king had recommended
 that method to parliament; but when it was pre-
 sented to his majesty, he refused his assent, because
 he himself was excluded from all share in the regu-
 lation. He signified his reasons for with-holding his
 assent. They replied, in a declaration, and he an-
 swered their reply. They then ordered their ordi-
 nance to be put in execution: the king published
 a proclamation, forbidding all persons to execute
 their ordinance, on pain of being declared pertur-
 bators of the public peace: and, on the other
 hand, the parliament issued a fresh declaration, pro-
 hibiting all the subjects from yielding obedience to
 the king’s proclamation, as being contrary to the
 laws of the realm.

When the king retired to the North, the two
 houses suspected that he had formed a design for
 making himself master of Hull; and therefore they
 petitioned that he would order the magazine to be
 transported from that place to the Tower of Lon-
 don. He gave them to understand, that he could
 not consent to their request, until he should know
 for what purpose it was intended; and that, should
 they attempt to transport his magazine without his
 order, he should look upon such an attempt as an
 express violation of his rights. Notwithstanding
 this declaration, and a petition presented to the king
 by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, desiring that the

A. C. 1642.

The king is
refused en-
trance into
Hull, by Sir
John Ho-
tham.

magazine might not be removed, the parliament caused the greater part of it to be deposited in the Tower. Charles certainly intended to take possession of Hull, and secure the arms he had purchased with his own money. Such steps were, at this juncture, not only excusable, but even necessary for his own preservation. On the twenty-third day of April, he presented himself before the gates of Hull, with a retinue of three hundred horse, and demanded entrance, which was refused by Sir John Hotham the governor, who appeared upon the rampart, and told him that he could not receive his majesty, and such a numerous train, without betraying the trust reposed in him by the parliament; but that he might enter with twelve attendants. The king consented to exclude all his retinue, except thirty followers: but Hotham refusing to open the gates on these terms, the king ordered two heralds to proclaim him a traitor, and retired to Beverley, where he passed the night. Next day Hotham was again summoned to open the gates, with promise of pardon for his former disobedience; but he remained inflexible, and Charles returned to York, extremely chagrined at his disappointment. He demanded reparation of the parliament for the insult he had sustained. He quoted laws to prove it was the king's office to defend the realm, and take charge of garisons and magazines; and he claimed that of Hull in particular, as having been purchased at his own private expence. The parliament maintained that Hotham had done his duty, pretending that the laws had committed the strengths and magazines of the kingdom to the sovereign, as a deposit to be employed for the preservation, not the ruin of the people. This contest produced a number of messages, declarations, answers, and replies; and, in the mean time, the king's friends endeavoured to obtain possession of Hull, by maintaining a correspondence

pondence with an officer of the garrison, who discovered the design to the governor, and he sent intelligence of this affair to the two houses. The attempt had been made by means of a gentleman named Beckwyth, who, on the miscarriage of his scheme, retired to York; and thither the houses dispatched a messenger to take him into custody, but the king would not allow him to execute the order.

A.C. 1642.

Charles, now laying aside all hope of accommodation, began to prepare for war in earnest. He had already gained over Goring, governor of Portsmouth; and the queen was employed in Holland in purchasing artillery, arms, and ammunition. The earl of Northumberland, lord high-admiral, being old and infirm, the king conferred the command of the fleet upon Sir John Pennington, who was devoted to his interest: but the houses remonstrated against his choice; and, in a paper transmitted to the lord-keeper Littleton, who had by this time repaired to the king at York, insisted upon his majesty's appointing the earl of Warwick commander of the navy. Charles, incensed at this demand, as well as at the disrespectful manner in which it was communicated, refused to comply with their desire: nevertheless, Warwick found means to usurp the command, by the intrigues of the parliament, and the influence of Northumberland, who favoured his interest. The two houses began to put in execution their ordinance touching the militia, and the trained-bands of London were mustered in their presence. They sent deputies to York, on pretence of delivering a message to the king, concerning Hull and the militia; and when he would have dismissed them with an answer, they told him they had orders to remain at York, where they acted as spies upon his conduct. In order to discredit the proceedings of his adversaries, he sent private directions to all his friends in both houses, to absent themselves

Both sides
prepare for
war.

Clarendon.
Rushworth

Q 4

from

A. C. 1642. from the parliament, and attend his person; and this command a considerable number obeyed the more willingly, as their lives were in continual danger from the insolence of the populace, and the violence of those members by whom the multitude was actuated.

The king raises a troop of horse-guards for the defence of his person.

The king having assembled the freeholders of Yorkshire, protested, in a public speech, that he had retired to the North with a view to preserve the peace of that part of his dominions, and not to make it the seat of war; a design of which he had been falsely accused. He said the two houses had sent their deputies to brave him, even as far as York: that as they had deprived him of his magazine at Hull, begun to execute their ordinance concerning the militia, and approved the treason of Sir John Hotham, he could no longer doubt that his person was in the most imminent danger. He therefore resolved to appoint a guard, and demanded their approbation and assistance. Though the gentlemen of that country were generally well affected to his majesty, they were mingled with a good number of malcontents; and these being practised upon by the committee of the two houses, presented petitions, disapproving of the king's proposal; which, however, was relished by the majority. A troop of horse-guards was immediately formed of those gentlemen, who voluntarily enlisted themselves for that service, under the command of the prince of Wales; and one regiment of trained-bands was ordered to duty without intermission.

Description of the opposite parties.

The nation was now divided between the king and the two houses. The greater part of the old nobility and ancient families in the kingdom, who valued themselves upon the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors, adhered to the cause of their sovereign, which was also sustained by all those who wished well to the ancient constitution and the hierarchy.

rarchy. All in general whom nature had endowed with generosity and benevolence of disposition, whose manners were polished by social and elegant intercourse, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, glowed with ardour in the cause of injured royalty, upon which nothing reflected more lustre than the approbation and attachment of the learned, loyal, and venerable university of Oxford*. The opposite faction was composed of those whom the court had personally disoblged; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and protestant dissenters; comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism. The traders were generally averse to the king, partly from the discouragements to which commerce had been subjected during this reign; partly from a spirit of independence become licentious and insolent; partly from hatred and emulation of the antient families which adhered to the interest of their sovereign: but the greatest advantage the two houses enjoyed over the monarch was the countenance and support of the city of London, the great reservoir of the national wealth and credit.

The king issued a proclamation for transferring the courts of justice to York; but the houses as

* The king was attended at York by lord Littleton, keeper of the seals; the marquis of Hertford, governor to the prince of Wales; lord Falkland, secretary of state; the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, Bristol, Berkshire, Dover, lords Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Gray of Rathven, Pawlet, Saville,

Dunsmore, Mowbray, and Martineau; Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Moun, Seymour. Sir P. Wych, comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Sir J. Colepeper, chancellor of the exchequer, lord chief justice Banks. Many other noblemen were employed in the king's behalf in different parts of the kingdom; and among the members of the lower house who retired to York, was Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon.

West.

A. C. 1642 Westminſter prevented the execution of this order.

New conteſt
between the
king and the
two houſes.

He likewiſe commanded major-general Skippon to attend his perſon; but he received a contrary order from the parliament, which he choſe to obey. On the nineteenth of May, the two houſes publiſhed a remonſtrance or declaration, as a reply to the anſwers which the king had made to ſome former addreſſes; and he refuted them by another declaration. They recapitulated as uſual all the errors of his conduct: they arrogated to themſelves the power of a parliament, as if a parliament could exiſt without the concurrence of the ſovereign: they magnified their own meaſures for the preſervation of Ireland; they expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the nation was expoſed; and they aſcribed all thoſe dangers to the malignant party by which the king was miſled. Charles, on the other hand, vindicated himſelf from their aſperſions; detected the abſurdity and preſumption of their aſſuming the appellation of a parliament; recriminated upon their conduct, their insolent expreſſions, their acts of arbitrary power, and their ſupporting individuals who had been guilty of high treaſon. He demonſtrated the fallacy of their imputing to him the delay in ſending ſuccours to Ireland; and the falſity of thoſe dangers, plots, and conſpiracies, which they themſelves had feigned, for the purpoſes of blackening the character of their ſovereign, and keeping up the ferment of the nation. Charles never ſhone ſo much as in his adverſity, which called forth the exertion of thoſe faculties which are not ſo much employed in the ordinary occurrences of life. He ſtood collected within himſelf with admirable fortitude, depended upon his own lights, diſcloſed a ſurpriſing extent of underſtanding, and reaſoned with great ſtrength of argument and preciſion. His meſſages, anſwers, and declarations, are cloſe, clear, and nervous; though

though the most masterly of those performances were penned by the lord Falkland, a nobleman equally remarkable for the elegance of his mind, and the moderation of his temper.

On the twentieth day of May, the commons passed several votes, importing, That the king had formed a design to make war upon the parliament : That such a design was contrary to his coronation-oath, and tended to the dissolution of government : and, that all assisting him in this war should be reputed and punished as traitors. Then they sent a petition to the king, desiring he would dismiss the troops he had levied ; otherwise they should be obliged to secure the peace of the kingdom by more effectual means. In his answer he reproached them with having appointed a guard to themselves ; and with having commanded the sheriffs of counties to oppose all such persons as should assemble by order of his majesty. On the second day of June, they presented him with nineteen propositions for re-establishing a good understanding between the king and parliament ; with which, if he had complied, he must have shamefully given up, to an inveterate faction, the whole regal power, prerogative, and dignity : he must have contributed to the total overthrow of the constitution in church and state ; betrayed the interest of his successors, reduced himself to the most disgraceful dependence upon his personal enemies, and rendered his name a reproach among the princes of the earth. To these proposals he wrote such an answer as must have satisfied every person whose judgment was not biased by rancour and prepossession ; but he had to do with a set of men who had planned a total revolution of government, and who had proceeded too far in this design to recede with safety. For this reason, all their votes, resolutions, remonstrances, and declarations, were evidently calculated to irritate and

The houses present the king with nineteen propositions,

A. C. 1642. alarm the minds of the people, inflame animosities, and widen the breach between the sovereign and the two houses of parliament; whereas Charles, from the beginning of this parliament, bent his whole endeavours towards the re-establishment of a good understanding between him and them, by repeated concessions, redressing grievances, and parting with the most undoubted prerogatives of his crown. This was the great aim of his whole conduct, except when he was provoked by insults, or seduced by rash counsel into some incursions, from which the most upright and cautious minds are not wholly exempt.

The two houses having received intelligence that the queen had sold or impawned some of the crown-jewels at Amsterdam, published an order, declaring all those concerned in selling or pawning those jewels, or in raising money for the king, enemies of the state. The commons likewise ordered the sheriffs of counties to summon the members who had withdrawn themselves from parliament, to resume their seats before the sixteenth day of June, on pain of a certain fine, and such other punishments as the house should think proper to inflict. At the same time the upper house ordered nine of their members, who had retired to York, to appear at their bar on the eighth day of June, as delinquents.

Rushworth.

They impeach the absent lords.

As they excused themselves by letters from obeying this order, the commons presented an impeachment against them: the lords published a sentence, excluding them from sitting in their house during the continuance of this parliament, and condemning them to imprisonment in the Tower, for such a period of time as the house should think proper to prescribe. On the tenth day of June, the two houses having received intimation that the king had granted commissions to levy troops, published proposals for borrowing either money or plate for the

the defence of the kingdom. Charles, informed A.C. 1645.
of this measure, wrote a letter to the mayor of London, forbidding the citizens to lend money to the two houses. They forthwith issued a declaration, representing the absolute necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence against the violent designs of the king : and he published a long answer, reproaching them with their outrageous proceedings, contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm : at length, by a printed order, they prohibited all persons from publishing any declaration of the king, or other writing, contrary to the ordinances of parliament. The king, supposing that the captains of his navy were generally well affected to his person, deprived the earl of Northumberland of the post of high-admiral ; ordered the earl of Warwick to resign his command, which was given to Sir John Pennington ; and wrote to every individual captain, commanding him to weigh anchor from the Downs, and sail directly to Burlington-bay. The captains were very well disposed towards his majesty ; but the scheme was executed in such a dilatory and indiscreet manner, that Warwick found an opportunity to tamper with the individuals and confirm them in their attachment to his command, which was renounced by two only ; and these being arrested, were sent prisoners to London.

The navy
revolts from
the king.

Mean while, the earl of Newcastle took possession of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Tynmouth, for the service of his majesty, who had by this time received a small supply of arms and ammunition from Holland, by means of the queen, and his son-in-law the prince of Orange. He appointed the earl of Hertford his lieutenant-general in the western counties : the earl of Lindsey was vested with the command of the army under the command of the king himself ; Sir Jacob Ashley was constituted

A. C. 1642. general of the infantry ; and the command of the cavalry was reserved for the king's nephew prince Rupert, brother to the elector Palatine. The lord Digby, in his passage from Holland, had been taken prisoner in disguise, and conveyed to Hull, where finding it impossible to remain long concealed from the knowledge of many persons well acquainted with his features, he discovered himself to Horham, in confidence of his honour and generosity. The governor dismissed him with the warmest professions of duty and attachment to the king ; and assured him, that if his majesty would appear before the place with the least shew of an army or artillery, he would capitulate immediately after the first discharge. Charles, influenced by this promise, assembled a number of militia, with about seven hundred horse, and formed the blockade of Hull, after having published a proclamation, specifying his reasons for undertaking the siege ; and summoned the town to surrender. But by this time Horham was so narrowly watched by his own son, and the other officers of the garrison, who were devoted to the two houses, that he excused himself from the performance of his promise ; and the king, being destitute of means to carry on the siege in form, was obliged to desist from the enterprize. In the mean time he had received an address from the two houses, beseeching him to discontinue his warlike preparations, remove his forces from Hull, disband his troops, and withdraw his garrisons from Newcastle, Tinmouth, and other places in the county of Lincoln ; on which conditions they promised to lay aside the preparations they had begun to make in their own defence. Their terms the king rejected, and in his turn presented them with proposals, to which they made no satisfactory answer. About the beginning of August, Goring governor of Portsmouth declared for the king, and was

His attempt
upon Hull.

Clarendon.

was immediately blocked up by sea and land; the earl of Warwick commanding the fleet, and the militia of the adjacent parts being assembled by a committee of the two houses, appointed for that service. The governor having neglected to furnish the place with salt and corn was in a few days obliged to capitulate, and retired to Holland. During this short blockade, the king published a declaration, recapitulating all the causes of his complaint against the two houses; declaring them guilty of high-treason, and forbidding his subjects to obey their orders.

At the same time he issued a proclamation, commanding all persons who were able to bear arms, to repair, on the twenty-fifth of August, to Nottingham, where he intended to set up the royal standard, in conformity with the antient practice of the English kings, when, upon extraordinary occasion, they needed the assistance of their people. Mean while, he detached the earl of Hertford, and some other noblemen, to manage his interest in the western counties. He himself repaired to Lincoln, where he borrowed the arms of the trained-bands for the use of his new-levied troops; and from thence he marched to Nottingham, where he reviewed his cavalry, to the number of seven hundred horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. Hearing that the earl of Essex was on his march with two regiments of infantry, to take possession of Coventry, he advanced to that city with his horse, in order to anticipate the enemy; but he was refused admittance by the mayor, and returned to Nottingham very much chagrined, leaving the command of his cavalry to Wilmot the commissary-general, who next day retreated shamefully, before twelve hundred men of the enemy's infantry, escorted by one troop of horse. The king's proclamation had produced so little effect, that when the royal standard

He sets up
his standard
at Nottingham.

A. C. 1642. dard was set up at Nottingham, not a soul appeared but a few trained bands assembled for that purpose. Every countenance was overspread with melancholy and dejection; and the standard being blown down by a storm, this accident was interpreted into an unlucky omen. Indeed nothing could be more melancholy than the prospect of this unhappy monarch; destitute of troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, except a very inconsiderable supply, altogether inadequate to his necessities, surrounded by timorous friends, distracted by jarring councils, wanting even the necessaries of life, and threatened by a powerful faction, which had not only despoiled him of his revenue and authority, but also interested the majority and richer part of the nation in its rebellious designs: nay, he was exposed to the most immediate hazard from a body of his adversaries, consisting of five thousand foot-soldiers, and fifteen hundred cavalry, who had by this time taken possession of Coventry.

Clarendon.

Messages
between the
king and the
two houses.

In this emergency, the king, by the advice of his council, sent the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Colepeper, and Sir William Udall, with a message to the two houses, proposing a treaty for an accommodation, declaring his firm resolution to maintain the true religion, and the privileges of his people; protesting that he earnestly desired peace; and that should his proposal be rejected, God would not impute to him the blood that might be shed in the course of their dispute. The deputies were treated with great insolence and contempt by both houses; and their answer imported, that without derogating from the privileges of parliament, they could not treat with the king, until he should have revoked those proclamations by which they were declared guilty of high-treason. In a subsequent message, he promised to revoke those proclamations, and take down his standard, as soon as they should fix a day for

for recalling their declarations, by which all his friends and adherents were treated as traitors to their country. They insisted on their former answer, assuring him, that if he would return to his parliament, after the revocation which they had proposed, he should receive sensible marks of their fidelity and obedience; but that the parliament, as representative of the kingdom, would never suffer itself to be put in competition with his majesty's pernicious counsellors. Then they published a declaration, protesting that they would never lay down their arms, until the king should have abandoned the delinquents to the justice of parliament. Charles sent a third message, in which he said the public should judge whether he or they had manifested the warmer solicitude for peace; that should they in the sequel desire to treat, he would always remember, that the blood to be shed was that of his subjects; and that he would return to his parliament as soon as the causes of his absence should cease. To this they returned a very acrimonious answer, charging his soldiers with having committed the most violent outrages, and himself with having not only caressed the agents of the Irish rebels, but also with having seized the ammunition, cloathing, and horses, provided for the reduction of those rebels, in order to be employed against his own parliament. Charles, in a subsequent declaration, absolutely denied the truth of those imputations; observing, by way of recrimination, that the two houses had made no scruple of using against their sovereign one hundred thousand pounds, raised for the relief of Ireland; that though the house of commons was composed of above five hundred members, two hundred had been obliged to relinquish their seats, by the violence and threats of the majority; and that, of one hundred peers, not above sixteen continued to sit in the upper house of parliament.

NUMB. LXVI.

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During

A. C. 1642.

During this contest, the earl of Essex assembled at Northampton an army of sixteen thousand men, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. The king, dissident of his safety at Nottingham, began his march towards Wales, with a small number of troops, ill provided, in hope of securing Chester and Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in the neighbourhood of Derby, he harangued his little army, protesting, in the presence of Almighty God, that he would maintain the true protestant religion, as established in the church of England; that he would defend the rights and privileges of his subjects; and particularly observe those laws to which he had given his assent in the present parliament. He found himself obliged to use some horses designed for the service of Ireland, and to borrow arms from the militia of the places through which he passed. The inhabitants of Shrewsbury received him with the warmest demonstrations of joy and affection. There he established his head-quarters; and the number of his troops increased so considerably, that in a few days he found himself at the head of ten thousand infantry, and four thousand horse. He was supplied with money by some friends in London; the loyal university of Oxford dedicated the plate of all their colleges to his service; and their example was followed by the university of Cambridge. Sir John Byron had been sent to Oxford for this supply, with a small detachment of cavalry; and prince Rupert, who had assumed the command of the horse, was detached with another body to Worcester, in order to meet and secure Byron in his return. Mean while, the earl of Essex resolving to fix his head-quarters in this city, ordered Nathaniel Fiennes to advance, and take possession of the place; but this officer finding Byron had entered it with his convoy, retired with precipitation. Immediately after his departure, prince Rupert arrived with his brother

brother Maurice, and had scarce alighted, when he perceived five hundred horse of Essex's army, commanded by colonel Sandys, advancing through a defile just at hand. He and his company immediately mounted; and with admirable courage and presence of mind, attacked the enemy as they came out of the lane: they were totally routed, after having left their commander and about thirty men killed on the spot; and several officers were taken. The success of this first skirmish wonderfully inspired the royalists, and impressed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who had given such an early proof of extraordinary conduct and bravery. He forthwith conducted his convey to Shrewsbury, where the plate was coined for the king's use; and next day the earl of Essex took possession of Worcester, where he resided for some time, during which he secured the cities of Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol.

Ruffworth.
Clarendon.

The king had no sooner assembled an army, with which he thought he could act upon the offensive, than he began his march from Shrewsbury towards London; and in two days after his departure, the earl of Essex put himself in motion to attend his rear. On the twenty second day of October, the armies were within six miles of each other. The king having received intelligence that Essex had advanced to Keinton, a village on the borders of Warwickshire, drew up his army on Edge-hill, about two miles from the enemy; and on Sunday the twenty-third day of the month, gave them battle. The army of Essex was superior in number to the royalists, who did not exceed ten thousand horse and foot. He posted Ramsey, a Scottish officer, at the head of a thousand horse, on the left wing. He himself commanded the line of infantry, with about two regiments of cavalry, extending from Keinton towards Edge-hill; and Sir William Balfour, acting

Battle of
Edge-hill.

A. C. 1642. under the earl of Bedford, was intrusted with a strong body of horse as a reserve. The king's right wing of horse was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by commissary Wilmot, and Sir Arthur Ashton. The earl of Lindsey, though general, fought on foot at the head of his own regiment; Sir Edmund Verney, knight-martial, carried the king's standard; and Sir John Byron formed the reserve with his own regiment only. About three o'clock, in the afternoon, prince Rupert advancing to charge the left wing of the enemy, Sir Faithful Fortescue, with his whole troop, deserted from Ramsey, and joined the prince, who charged their adversaries with such fury, that they were immediately routed, and pursued for two miles. Wilmot and Sir Arthur Ashton, met with the same success against the right wing of Essex; and the reserve under Byron joined in the pursuit, leaving the infantry on both sides to dispute the fortune of the day. During this contest, Sir William Balfour advancing with his reserve, fell upon the flank of the royalists, and did great execution. The earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded, and his son the lord Willoughby taken prisoner, while he endeavoured to rescue his father; Sir Edmund Verney being slain, the standard fell into the hands of the enemy, but was recovered by the valour of captain John Smith. The king's whole infantry was thrown into confusion, and himself with his two sons in great danger of being taken. When prince Rupert and Wilmot returned from the pursuit, their troops were so fatigued and scattered, that they could not be brought into order so as to renew the charge; and night approaching, left the fate of the day undecided. Each side kept its ground, and next morning both armies fronted one another. About five thousand combatants lay dead on the field of battle, the greater number of these having been killed by the king's

king's cavalry. Besides the earl of Lindsey, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king lost the lord Aubigney, brother to the duke of Richmond and Lenox. Among those who fell on the other side, were the lord St. John of Bletso, eldest son to the earl of Boringbroke, and Charles Essex, an officer of reputation. Lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Edward Stradling, and several persons of distinction in the king's army, were taken. His soldiers suffered greatly from the cold, which was very severe in the night; and indeed, both sides seemed to think themselves vanquished. Essex retired to Warwick-castle; and the king, having appointed Ruthven general of his army, in the room of the earl of Lindsey, marched to Banbury, and summoned the castle to surrender. Though the garrison consisted of eight hundred infantry, and a troop of horse, they immediately capitulated; and one half of the soldiers enlisted in the king's army. Here he left a garrison, under the command of the earl of Northampton, and next day entered Oxford, where he was received with joy and acclamation.

The two houses, though they arrogated to themselves the victory, were nevertheless overwhelmed with consternation, when they learned the particulars of the battle; while the king's friends at London seized this opportunity of exaggerating the exploits of the royalists, and expatiating upon the necessity of a peace. On the day that preceded the battle, the two houses had published a declaration, taxing the king with having given commissions to papists; with having sent persons to levy troops at Hamburgh, and in Denmark; encouraged Irish rebels; and entertained several persons declared guilty of high treason, namely, lord Digby, Oneal, Williams, Pollard, and Ashburnham. They likewise affirmed, that the jesuits had collected money for his use in foreign countries; and for these rea-

A. C. 1642. fons, they resolved to engage in a solemn covenant, hoping they should be joined by the Scots, according to the treaty of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms. Charles published two answers, in which he positively denied the truth of their imputations; and affirmed there was a great number of papists in their army. In their reply to this answer, they insisted upon his having granted commissions to catholics, whom they named: at the same time, they published a petition, presented to the king by the catholics of Lancashire, begging permission to provide themselves with arms for his service; and his majesty's answer, in which he complied with their request. At such a juncture, when the constitution was unhinged, and the legislature divided within itself; when the king was stripped of his prerogative, and a powerful faction had actually taken arms against his person, it was natural, it was just in him, to embrace the offers of his subjects, for his own preservation; and it was prudent to wave distinctions, which he could not maintain with any regard to his personal safety. As he claimed the victory at Edge-hill, he, in order to fortify his pretensions, and intimidate his adversaries, sent an offer of pardon to the city of London, and several other towns which had declared for the two houses. His secret friends took all occasions to magnify the advantage, and inspire the people with an aversion to the war. On the other hand, the parliament resolved to demand peace, to exert their utmost endeavours for putting themselves in a condition to maintain the war, and to desire the assistance of the Scots, in case it should be found necessary.

Vigour and
resolution of
the two
houses.

The army of Essex was immediately recruited by a great number of apprentices, who enlisted in consequence of an ordinance, importing that all the time of their service in the field should be reckoned as part of their apprenticeship; and they sent a declaration

claration to Scotland, desiring their brethren of that kingdom to prepare forces to cover their frontiers from the attempts of the popish army, which the earl of Newcastle had raised in the north of England. The king, by the advice of his friends in London, resolved to approach that city, before the agitation produced by the battle should subside, hoping that some commotion would be raised in his favour. With this view he advanced to Reading, which was abandoned with precipitation by Harry Martin, who commanded the garrison composed of the parliament's troops. This motion alarmed the two houses to such a degree, that they dispatched a messenger to the king, to desire he would grant a safe-conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend him with an humble petition. He complied with their request, excepting against Sir John Evelyn, who had been proclaimed a traitor. The houses would not admit of this exception, especially as they received an information that the earl of Essex was on his march to London; but, the king proceeding as far as Colebrook, their appetite for peace recurred. The apprehension of the people grew clamorous and importunate; and the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three members of the lower house, waited upon his majesty with a petition, that he would choose his residence at some place in the neighbourhood of London, where he might conveniently treat with a committee of parliament, about preventing further bloodshed, and re-establishing the peace of the nation.

They send deputies to the king at Colebrook.

The deputies received a very favourable answer from the king, who pitched upon the castle of Windsor, which was in their possession; and they returned with a seemingly sincere desire of peace, to make their report to their constituents, when this fair prospect of an accommodation was ruined by the impetuosity of prince Rupert. He was a youth

A. C. 1642. of a very obstinate temper, and ungracious address. Far from craving the advice of more experienced officers, he had paid no deference to the king's orders, since he first engaged in the service; and acted entirely from the suggestions of his own headstrong ambition. He now advanced with all the cavalry as far as Hounslow, and understanding that Essex had taken possession of Kingston, Acton, and Brentford, so that he was in danger of being intercepted, he sent a messenger to the king, desiring he might be sustained by the rest of the army. The infantry immediately began their march, and the avenues of Brentford being barricaded by the enemy, the place was taken by assault, after a warm action, in which the king's troops took above five hundred prisoners, eleven pair of colours, fifteen pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. The houses loudly exclaimed against this attack, as a proof of the king's insincerity and perfidious dealing, though they had no reason to complain, as they had not demanded a cessation; and their general had taken possession of Kingston and Acton, after their committee had waited upon his majesty. Nevertheless, he sent a message to the parliament, importing, that what he had done was in consequence of the motions of Essex; that he was still cordially disposed to peace, and would expect their deputies at Brentford. His messenger was maltreated and imprisoned; the two houses affirmed, that the king's design was to surprise and plunder the city of London; and they ordered the mayor to send the trained-bands to reinforce the earl of Essex. By this conjunction he was rendered much stronger than Charles. Both armies faced one another a whole day, on the heath, near Brentford; and, in the evening, the king wheeled off to Kingston, which the enemy had quitted. He lay at Hampton-Court, from whence he retired to

Oat-

He surprises
Brentford.

Clarendon.

Oat-lands, where first hearing how his character was aspersed, touching the attack at Brentford, he, in a message to the houses, repeated his reasons for the step he had taken, complained of those false imputations, and told them he would move to a greater distance from London, that they might prepare their proposals, without any apprehension; or, that if they were averse to a treaty, he was content to put an end to the miseries of his people by one decisive battle. Mean while, he directed his forces to retire to Reading, and dismissed the prisoners he had taken, after they had promised upon oath that they would never bear arms against their sovereign.

The parliament having received offers of men and money from the citizens of London, influenced by Pennington the mayor, passed an ordinance, that all such as should furnish men, money, horses, or arms for the service, should be repayed with interest; and for such payment, they engaged the public faith of the kingdom. They reinforced the army, caressed the earl of Essex, and constituted him sole general. Then they petitioned the king to return to his parliament, with his royal, not his martial attendance. To this address he returned a suitable reply, still expressing his desire to treat of an accommodation. They declared he had no mind to peace; and ordered their general to march with his army to Windsor, after their chaplains Downing and Marshal had absolved the soldiers of the oath they had taken at Brentford, to abstain from carrying arms against the king. All hope of peace being now vanished, Charles left a strong garrison in Reading, under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, while he himself marched with the rest of his army to Oxford. Wallingford in the neighbourhood of that city, the Brill on the edge of Buckinghamshire, and Banbury were secured with gar-

He retreats to Oxford.

A. C. 1642. garrisons; and the head quarters for the horse were established at Abingdon: so that he commanded Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and influenced the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. Marlborough in Wiltshire being held for the parliament by Ramsey, a Scottish officer in their service, the king sent thither Wilmot, now appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, with a strong detachment, which entered the town by assault. They took the governor, officers, and a thousand prisoners, and returned safe to Oxford with four pieces of cannon, and great store of arms and ammunition: but this advantage was in some measure balanced by the misfortune that befel the lord Grandison, who, with three or four regiments of horse and dragoons, was taken by the enemy at Winchester; from whence, however, he made his escape to Oxford.

He refutes
the declara-
tion of the
two houses.

The king's next step was to refute the declaration which the two houses had sent into Scotland. Commissioners from that kingdom actually resided in London; and, before the armies took the field, had exhorted the parliament to a reconciliation with his majesty. He now sent a message to the privy-council of Scotland, complaining of the calumnies which had been circulated by the two houses and their emissaries, to the prejudice of his character; recapitulating the injuries he had suffered, and exhorting his subjects of Scotland to persevere in their duty and allegiance. As the king's revenues were intercepted, he was enabled by the loyalty and generosity of Oxford, the affection of his adherents, and particularly by sums drawn from his friends in London, to defray the necessary expence of his army and household, and even to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. When, according to custom, he appointed sheriffs in all the counties, the commons ordered that every person so nominated, should be prosecuted as a delinquent.

quent. Hearing that the king had ordered some of the prisoners taken at Edge-hill to be indicted for high-treason, they declared all such indictments illegal; inhibited the judges to proceed; and declared, that if any of their soldiers should be executed, they would make retaliation upon those they had taken prisoners. The king published a proclamation, forbidding all men to pay or receive the duty of tonnage and poundage; and the houses declared that no person should be molested on that account. They maintained agents in Holland, Brussels, and France. The prince of Orange had heartily engaged in the cause of his father-in-law; but the states-general were united with the parliament by a conformity of civil and religious principles. They prevailed upon Francisco de Melos, governor of Flanders, to discountenance the king's friends in that country. The king of Spain had been incensed against Charles for having concluded a league of amity with the crown of Portugal. He had encouraged and assisted the rebels in Ireland, and now his ambassador at London carried on an intimate correspondence with the two houses. Richelieu, the French minister, had been concerned in exciting the first commotions in Scotland. La Ferté, the envoy from that crown, acted as a spy for the parliament; and the huguenots were attached to it by the ties of religion.

In order to raise money for their occasions, the two houses ordered that committees should be named for borrowing money and plate to supply the wants of the army; and that they should take into custody all provisions of money, plate, and horses, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They ordained, that Isaac Pennington, mayor of London, and a certain number of aldermen and citizens, should be invested with authority to empower six persons of every ward in London to assess all

Their arbitrary methods of raising supplies.

A. C. 1642. all persons who refused to contribute in tuns not exceeding the twentieth part of their substance; to distrain goods for this purpose, to receive rents, to compound debts, and even to imprison whole families. The king published a declaration, explaining the pernicious consequences of such an arbitrary tyrannical imposition, which destroyed the most essential privileges of the people: he required that his loving subjects would not submit to such an extravagant ordinance, or give any assistance to the army of the rebels, on pain of incurring severe punishment and perpetual infamy. A great number of citizens, well affected to his majesty, prepared a petition to the parliament, recommending a treaty for peace; but the two houses refused to receive it, on pretence that it had been framed by delinquents. Another of the same tenor was drawn up by the inhabitants of Westminster, who were treated in the same ignominious manner. The mayor and aldermen, at the instigation of the parliament, sent deputies to the king, with a petition, desiring him to disband his army, and return to his parliament. To this he returned an answer by a gentleman, who was permitted to read it before the common-council of the city, assembled for that purpose; and in presence of a committee of lords and commons, who had taken proper precautions to prevent its having any effect to his advantage. The parliament seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of episcopacy, for which the commons had prepared a bill; and, by their intrigues, it passed the upper house, where otherwise it would have met with opposition. They observed, that this was the sole condition upon which the Scots would take arms in their behalf; and they insinuated to those whom they knew extremely averse to this measure, that in case of a treaty with the king, this bill would alarm him with such apprehensions for the church,

church, that he would be glad to redeem the hierarchy with some signal concession. This great point being gained, they began to prepare propositions of peace to be presented to his majesty. A. C. 1642. Clarendon.

Mean while the civil war continued to rage in different parts of the kingdom. The earl of Newcastle, having levied forces for the king's service in the North, was opposed in his passing the river Tees, that separates the bishopric of Durham from Yorkshire, by young Hotham, at the head of a strong detachment from the army of lord Fairfax, who commanded for the parliament in that country : but the earl forced his passage, and took possession of York with eight thousand men. He afterwards attacked the intrenchments of Fairfax at Tadcaster ; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to retire, after a very obstinate action. At Gisborough Sir Hugh Cholmley defeated six hundred men in the king's service, commanded by colonel Slingsby, who was taken, with a good number of his followers : and the town of Leeds, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, under Sir William Saville, was assaulted and taken by young Fairfax, son to the general. In the southern parts of the kingdom, Sir William Saville, for the parliament, reduced Farnham, Winchester, and Chichester. In February, prince Rupert took Cirencester by assault, and made twelve hundred prisoners. Lord Brook, in attacking some of the king's troops intrenched at Litchfield, lost his life ; but the post was taken by his followers. These under Sir John Gill, being reinforced by Sir William Brereton from Nantwich, advanced to Stafford, in quest of the earl of Northampton, who gave them battle on Hopton-heath, though they amounted to three times his number. Their horse were immediately routed ; but the earl being dismounted, was slain, after he had given repeated proofs of personal prowess, and refused quarter.

Battle of
Hopton-
heath.

A. C. 1642. ter from the hands of such infamous rebels. Sir John Byron, who commanded the victorious cavalry, would have attacked them the next day; but they retired by favour of the darkness. Lord Herbert, who had undertaken the siege of Gloucester, was surpris'd by Sir William Waller, who routed his forces, and took a great number of prisoners. Then he reduced the castle of Chepstow, and made himself master of Monmouth.

Progress of
Sir Ralph
Hopton in
Cornwall.

The war was carried on with still greater vigour in the western counties. The marquis of Hertford had been appointed general for the king in that part of the country, and established his head-quarters at Bath; but the earl of Bedford, who commanded for the parliament, having raised a considerable force, obliged him to retire into Wales; from whence he detached Sir Ralph Hopton into Cornwall, with about five hundred horse, to manage the king's interest in that county. This gentleman was well received in Cornwall; and the whole county, through the influence of Sir Bevil Greenvil, declared for his majesty. Hopton, having assembled three thousand Cornishmen, drove the commissioners of the parliament from Launceston, where they had made some levies, and afterwards from Saltash; but as they refused to serve in any other county, he dismissed them after this service: nevertheless, he found means to maintain about five hundred regular troops, with which he made incursions into Devonshire. The parliament, alarmed at his success, formed an army of the forces they had raised in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and conferred the command of it upon the earl of Stamford. This nobleman sent a strong detachment into Cornwall, under Ruthven, a Scottish officer, governor of Plymouth, who passed the river Tamar near Saltash, and advanced to Bradock down, in the neighbourhood of Liskard, where he was encountered and defeated

seated by Sir Ralph Hopton. Ruthven fled to A. C. 1642. Saltash, which he endeavoured to fortify; and the earl of Stamford, who had proceeded as far as Launceston, in order to join Ruthven, retired to Tavistock. The victors dividing their forces, part of them marched with lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton to Saltash, which they took by assault; Ruthven escaping by sea to Plymouth. The other division, conducted by Sir John Berkley, Sir Bevil Greenvil, and colonel Althurnham, advanced to Tavistock, which the earl of Stamford abandoned at their approach. Immediately after these transactions, the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall agreed to a neutrality, that the seat of war might be removed from these two counties. The same expedient was proposed in Yorkshire; and the articles were actually drawn up between the lord Fairfax for the parliament, and Henry Belasis, heir apparent of the lord Falconbridge, who adhered to his majesty. These were subscribed by the principal persons of either party; but the parliament disowned the transaction, reprimanded Fairfax, expressed their detestation of a neutrality, and ordered him to proceed according to his former instructions. About the middle of February, the queen, who had sent repeated supplies of arms and ammunition from Holland for his majesty's service, took shipping for England; and arriving at Burlington bay, was received by the earl of Newcastle, who escorted her to York, from whence she was afterwards conducted to Oxford.

The two houses, having finished their propositions, demanded of the king a safe-conduct for a committee, which was granted in favour of the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, the lords viscounts Wenman and Dungarnon, Sir John Holland, Sir William Lit-

Treaty at
Oxford in-
effectual.

ton,

A. C. 1642. ton, William Pierpoint, Bulstroke, Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood. They set out for Oxford in the latter end of January; and met with a very gracious reception from his majesty, to whom the earl of Northumberland presented the propositions, importing, That he should disband his army, return to parliament, leave delinquents to justice, allow the papists to be disarmed, pass the bill for abolishing episcopacy, and others for compelling recusants to abjure popery, for removing malignant counsellors, settling the militia according to the desire of the parliament; in a word, to relinquish all his prerogative, and leave himself at the mercy of the two houses. He in his turn proposed that his revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships should be restored; that every transaction, contrary to law and the king's right, should be annulled; that all illegal power, claimed by the parliament, should be renounced; that a bill might be brought into the house for maintaining the Book of Common-prayer against sectaries; that all persons excepted in the treaty should be tried by their peers; that there should be an immediate cessation of arms, and a free trade

A. C. 1643. carried on through the whole kingdom. Conferences were opened upon these articles; but as neither side would make the least concession to the other, the two houses recalled their commissioners, and broke off the treaty. Neither king nor parliament had, from the beginning, the least hope of succeeding in this negotiation; for though a few moderate men on each side were extremely desirous of peace, the majority of the leading men were eagerly bent upon a continuation of the war, in which they found their account. The king himself was overruled by the persuasions of some who enjoyed too great a share of his confidence.

During

During this congress he detached prince Rupert, A. C. 1643. Reading taken by the earl of Essex. to open a communication between York and Oxford; and he had already made himself master of Birmingham and Litchfield, when he was recalled to undertake the relief of Reading, which by this time was besieged by the earl of Essex. The garrison was commanded by Sir Arthur Ashton; but he being wounded in the beginning of the siege, the command devolved upon colonel Fielding. A small reinforcement of three hundred men, with a supply of powder, was thrown into the place by lieutenant-general Wilmot; notwithstanding which the town was not thought to be in a defensible condition, and Fielding demanded a capitulation; mean while hostages were mutually given for a cessation of arms. The king began his march from Oxford, to relieve the place; but after an unsuccessful attempt was obliged to retire: so that Fielding surrendered the town, on condition of being permitted to retire with all the honours of war. He had, however, neglected to stipulate for the safety of the deserters, who were executed by order of Essex, whose soldiers insulted the garrison as they marched out, and even plundered the waggons, in contempt of the capitulation: an outrage which the king's soldiers retaliated in the sequel, as often as they found an opportunity. Fielding was tried Clarendon. by a court-martial, and condemned to death for having surrendered Reading upon such conditions: but he was pardoned in consideration of his former services, and lived to signalize his courage and fidelity on many different occasions.

The earl of Essex being joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this time reduced Hereford, and made an unsuccessful attack upon Worcester, he received orders from the two houses to march towards Oxford, where the king was supposed to be in great distress from want of ammunition. He

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A. C. 1643. accordingly advanced to Thame, within ten miles of that city. While he remained in this post, colonel Urrey, a Scottish officer, who had served in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deserting to the king, and persuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed him of their disposition. To demonstrate the practicability of such an exploit, he proposed to go as a volunteer, with a detachment which he conducted to part of these quarters, where he defeated some regiments, and brought a good number of prisoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his success, complied with his advice, in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a strong body of horse; and, taking a long circuit in the night, arrived by break of day at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy: they attacked another quarter with the same success, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a sufficient guard. By this time the earl of Essex had taken the alarm, and detached part of his cavalry, to detain the prince until he should be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him on the skirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they betook themselves to flight, after having lost some of their best officers; and among the rest, the celebrated John Hambden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment since the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any of his other extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation, for which this gentleman was distinguished, in the beginning of the opposition to the king's measures, had given way to a violence of animosity against the ancient consti-

Death of
John Hambden.

constitution, and the person of his sovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high treason. A. C. 1643.

This was an affront he could never forgive : he became passionate and even ferocious, discouraged all overtures towards an accommodation ; and now his death struck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers of distinction were slain or taken prisoners. The army under Essex was dispirited by these checks, diminished by distemper, and in want of necessaries ; so that he thought proper to remove from Thame, and put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in such warm encomiums upon his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment. Clarendon.

The king's affairs still wore a favourable aspect in the western counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled, as in the North, by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceston ; but being repulsed, retired to Okington. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprise the high-sheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Cornish loyalists, under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, seized this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the absence of their horse. They formed their small army into four divisions, and attacked the hill in so many different parts. After a very warm contest they met upon the summit, disarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and Earl of Stamford routed by the royalists at Stratton.

A. C. 1643. took possession of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter; and Sir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the same route from Bodmin, as soon as he was informed of the earl's disaster. The victorious loyalists, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somersetshire, began their march; and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies, thus united, amounted to above seven thousand men in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus strengthened they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar-castle, almost without opposition.

The two houses, immediately after the battle of Stratton, sent Sir William Waller to raise an army in the county of Somerset, in order to retrieve their affairs. He acted with such secrecy and dispatch, that a detachment from his army endeavoured to beat up the quarters of the marquis at Somerton, before he had any intelligence of their approach. They were, however, repulsed by the earl of Carnarvon, who pursued them so far that he fell into a kind of ambuscade, formed by a strong party of Waller's dragoons, before which he was obliged to retreat in his turn, till he was sustained by prince Maurice; a very smart action ensued, in which the prince exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid bravery, and the enemy were routed with considerable loss. The royalists, having rested a few days at Wells, advanced towards Sir William Waller, who had fixed his head-quarters at Bath, and received from London a reinforcement of five hundred cavalry, so completely armed with cuirasses and defensive armour, that the loyalists termed them the lobsters; and, in the sequel, found them generally irresistible. After some skirmishes that were fought with various success, the marquis and prince Maurice

Maurice marched to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath, in the road to Oxford. Waller, whose aim was to prevent their joining the king, immediately took possession of Lansdown-hill, which he fortified with breast-works and cannon. Then he detached a body of horse towards Marsfield, from whence they were driven back by the royalists, who drew up their forces in order of battle on the plain; but perceiving how advantageously the enemy was posted, they began to retreat to their old quarters. Waller immediately sent his whole cavalry to fall upon their flank and rear; and the new regiment of cuirassiers did great execution; so that the king's horse, hitherto deemed invincible, were broken and dismayed: nevertheless, they were rallied by the valour and activity of their officers, and the enemy fled in their turn. Then the royalists attacked the hill with surprising courage, and gained the summit after a very obstinate engagement; the enemy retiring behind a stone-wall, where they faced the king's troops in good order till night, and then retired to Bath, by favour of the darkness. The marquis was left in possession of the field; but the victory was not purchased without considerable damage. Sir Bevil Greenvill was killed in the attack, together with a good number of excellent officers; and next morning, as Sir Ralph Hopton and serjeant-major Sheldon rode about the field, they were blown up with gunpowder, eight barrels of which happened to be in a waggon, and took fire either by treachery or accident. The major died next day, to the unspeakable regret of the army, by which he was beloved for his courage and amiable disposition; and Sir Ralph Hopton was so miserably scorched, that they despaired of his recovery. The loss of serjeant-major Sheldon, who was the darling of the soldiers, they deemed equivalent

A. C. 1643. to a defeat, and retreated with heavy hearts to Marsfield.

The marquis then resolved to join his majesty, and began his march for Oxford; but Waller hung upon his rear with such vigilance and activity, that he found it impracticable to reach that city with his whole army. It was therefore resolved, that he and prince Maurice should fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry and cannon should remain at the Devizes, until the general could return with a reinforcement from Oxford. This resolution they executed; and Sir William Waller beleaguered the Devizes. The earl of Crawford marching at the head of his own regiment of horse, with a convoy of ammunition to the relief of the besieged, was intercepted by a strong body of the enemy's cavalry, and hardly escaped with the loss of his whole convoy. They were by this disappointment reduced to great distress, and hampered so close by Sir William Waller, that it would have been impossible to defend the place for any length of time. The king knowing the importance of relieving them, no sooner understood their situation, from the prince and the marquis, than he detached lord Wilmot, with fifteen hundred cavalry, and two field pieces, to their assistance. Waller immediately drew up his forces on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes, in order to prevent the junction of Wilmot and the king's troops; and Wilmot resolved to give him battle, in hope that the infantry would march out and join him during the engagement. Waller advancing with his whole cavalry, to charge the royalists, met with such a warm reception, that his invincible regiment of cuirassiers were broken and dispersed, and his horse routed with great slaughter. Then the Cornish infantry arriving from

Waller defeated on Roundway-down.

from the Devizes, and joining the victorious Wilmot, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that almost the whole body was either killed or taken prisoners; and Waller fled with a few followers to Bristol, in which there was a garrison of the parliament's troops. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth day of July, which was doubly fortunate for the king, who, at that very time, met the queen on the field of Keinton, and with her received above two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, well armed, together with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were conveyed in safety to Oxford.

In order to take advantage of the consternation with which Waller's defeat had overwhelmed the parliament and their adherents, Charles consented to the siege of Bristol, projected by prince Rupert; and the whole army was employed in this enterprise. The Cornish troops took post on the side of Somersetshire, and the prince established his quarters on the side of Gloucester. Nathaniel Fiennes commanded in the place, at the head of five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of dragoons. The town was in a good posture of defence, and the castle well fortified, and supplied with men, provision, and ammunition. In a council of war, it was determined to proceed by assault; and the troops began the attack on both sides of the town with surprising intrepidity. The Cornish men met with such difficulties from the nature of the ground, and the obstinate defence of the besieged, that, notwithstanding their undaunted courage and resolution, they were repulsed with slaughter, with the loss of many gallant officers. On the other side, where the place was more accessible, prince Rupert had better success. Colonel Washington entered the

The royalists take Bristol by assault.

A. C. 1643. line, and made room for the horse to follow. The enemy forthwith abandoned their posts and retired within the town; so that the assailants, at the expence of much blood, had only obtained possession of the suburbs, and retained little hope of making themselves masters of the city, when the governor demanded a parley. He obtained an honourable capitulation, in consequence of which he surrendered the town, and marched out with his arms and baggage: but his soldiers were insulted and plundered by the royalists, in revenge for the treatment they themselves had met with at Reading; and many other outrages were committed in the city, on the supposition that the inhabitants were disaffected to the cause of his majesty. The reduction of Bristol, though it greatly swelled the tide of the king's prosperity, cost him a number of excellent officers, the loss of whom he severely regretted. Of the Cornish men, major Kendall, Sir Nicholas Stanning, and the two colonels Trevanion and Buck, were either slain or mortally wounded in the attack. In the division of prince Rupert, the colonels Launsford and Moyle were shot from windows, after they had entered the suburbs; and the lord viscount Grandison died of the wounds he received on this occasion. He was a young nobleman of unblemished honour, invincible courage, and inviolable fidelity. Fiennes governor of Bristol was tried by a court-martial for having surrendered that city in a cowardly manner, and condemned to death; but the sentence was remitted by the earl of Essex, and he spent the remainder of his life in foreign countries.

About this time the earl of Newcastle, in the North, encountered the lord Fairfax on Atherston-moor, where the parliamentarians being totally routed, Fairfax retreated with the remains of them into Hull, of which he was appointed governor,

in the room of Hotham, whom the two houses^{A. C. 1643.} had committed to custody. To complete their chagrin, the most violent animosity began to rage between the earl of Essex and Sir William Waller. The earl grew jealous of this favourite, and tired of the war; and Waller taxed him with neglect of duty, in allowing the queen to pass unmolested to Oxford, and in suffering Wilmot to relieve the Devises. All these concurring calamities made such an impression upon the two houses, that they sent Sir William Armyne, young Sir Henry Vane, and two other members, as a deputation to their brethren in Scotland, desiring they would immediately advance with an army to their assistance. The king had, before this happy turn of his affairs, issued a declaration, declaring the proceedings of the two houses to be void, as the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of parliament; and now he published a declaration, re-capitulating his late successes, repeating the protestation he had made in the beginning of the war, expressing his eager desire of peace, his intention to govern by the laws of the land, and maintain the privileges of parliament, and requiring his good subjects to assist him vigorously with men and arms, plate, money, and horses, that he might the sooner be enabled to put an end to the calamities of the nation.

The two houses send deputies to Scotland.

This declaration, co-operating with the victories he had gained, produced such effects among his adversaries and their adherents, that if he had marched directly to London, before the fears of the parliament subsided, in all probability the war would have been finished to his honour and advantage; but he had cast his eyes upon the city of Gloucester, the possession of which would have made him master of the whole Severne, and enabled him to supply his garrisons at Worcester and Shrewsbury

The king undertakes the siege of Gloucester.

A. C. 1643. Shrewsbury from the city of Bristol, the command of which was now bestowed upon prince Rupert, tho' the government was vested in Sir Ralph Hopton, promoted about this time to the dignity of a baron. The garrison of Gloucester was commanded by colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, who had formerly served in the king's army under colonel William Leg, during the last war with Scotland. This gentleman sounded his inclination towards his majesty by a letter, to which he returned a very blunt answer; but he in private desired the messenger to tell colonel Leg, that the king might depend upon his attachment. He said, if prince Rupert should be sent to besiege Gloucester, he would defend it to extremity; but to his majesty in person, he would surrender at the first summons. In consequence of this promise, Charles resolved to march thither without delay. He detached prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon towards Dorchester, with a body of horse and foot, to extend his interest in the western counties; and he himself, attended by the marquis of Hertford, set out for Gloucester, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the tenth day of August. He forthwith sent a trumpet, to summon the town to surrender; and the messenger returned with two meagre deputies, who demeaned themselves with great insolence, and presented a paper, declaring the citizens would, with God's help, keep the town, according to the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. This was subscribed by the governor, the mayor, thirteen aldermen, and a great number of the most substantial inhabitants. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the king's council resolved that the place should be besieged; and Sir Williamavasour, who commanded for his majesty in South Wales, was ordered to draw his forces to the forest-side of the town, to overawe and restrain the besieged,

sieged, who had broken down the bridges, set fire to the suburbs, and prepared for a vigorous defence. A. C. 1643.

Mean while, the parliament, which had hitherto acted with such unanimity, began to be distracted with divisions and conspiracies. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, had, with keen satire, and admirable eloquence, opposed the violent counsels by which the commons were governed. He enjoyed the confidence of the earl of Northumberland, Conway, and other persons of moderation, who detested the furious proceedings of the lower house. He concerted with his brother-in-law Mr. Tomkyns, and Mr. Chaloner the intimate friend of that gentleman, an association of the lords and citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. Their discourse was overheard by a servant of Tomkyns, who betrayed it to Pym. All three were apprehended, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. Tomkyns and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors: Waller redeemed himself by informing against his friends, counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, bribing the puritanical ministers, and paying a fine of ten thousand pounds. Then the lords and commons subscribed a covenant, which they imposed upon their army, expressing their abhorrence of the late conspiracy, and their resolution to amend their lives; vowing that they would never lay down their arms so long as the papists, in open war against the parliament, should be screened from justice; and promising to contribute their uttermost in assisting the two houses against the king's army. The insolence of the faction was now risen to such a pitch, that they openly accused the queen of high treason, and presented an impeachment of her to the upper house. An insult which the king resented so warmly, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to obey

Conspiracy of Edmund Waller against the two houses.

A. C. 1643. obey the orders of the two houses, which he no longer acknowledged as the parliament.

Notwithstanding these bold measures, the reduction of Bristol was no sooner known, than the lords began to deliberate upon expedients for peace, and communicated propositions for that purpose to the commons, which produced vehement debates, between the violent party and those who were inclined to a solid pacification; but at length it was determined by a majority, that the propositions should be transmitted to his majesty. The faction immediately began to ply all their engines to cloud this prospect of an accommodation. The pulpits resounded with arguments and exclamations against a treaty: printed papers were distributed and pasted upon all public places, exhorting the people to rise as one man, and repair to the house of commons next morning, as twenty thousand Irish rebels were landed for their destruction. A petition against peace was drawn up in the common-council, and presented to the lower house by Pennington the lord-mayor; and all Westminster was filled with tumult. Many moderate members withdrew themselves from the house, where they could no longer sit in safety; while the others thanked the city for their petition and advice, and the propositions for peace were rejected. A great number of the wives of citizens delivered a petition for peace; but they were attacked, and many of them killed and wounded, by a troop of horse commanded by one Hervey. The two houses received Waller after his defeat with the warmest expressions of esteem. He was chosen commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared that they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their distressed friends in the West. They passed an ordinance to raise a new army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, to oppose the earl of

of

of Newcastle, and protect the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and Lincoln. Then they sent a committee of both houses to soothe the earl of Essex, who had been for some time disgusted; and had indeed conferred with the moderate party, upon expedients to force the two houses into pacific measures. Whatever arguments the committee used, he was persuaded to re-adopt their sentiments; and his other friends fearing he would discover their design, withdrew themselves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare. The earls of Bedford and Holland escaped to the king's garrison at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own house at Petworth in Suffex.

Several noblemen retire from parliament to the king's quarters.

While the king was employed in the siege of Gloucester, the city of Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland, surrendered to the earl of Carnarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in discontent at some outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a body of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnstaple and Bedford were surrendered to him without opposition; and prince Maurice undertook the siege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands by capitulation, by the earl of Stamford. The siege of Gloucester proceeded slowly, from the king's want of necessities for such an enterprize; and the valour and vigilance of Massey, who made repeated sallies, in which the besiegers sustained incredible damage.

At length the earl of Essex undertook the relief of the place. The two houses supplied him forces, among which he mustered four regiments of the city trained bands; and towards the end of August he began his march from London. The rendez-

The earl of Essex sent to the relief of Gloucester.

vous

A.C. 1643. vons of his troops was at Aylesbury, where, being joined by the lord Gray, and reinforcements from the associated counties, he found himself at the head of eight thousand infantry, and half that number of horse. Then he continued his march by Brackley: though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horse, sent on purpose to harraß him with light skirmishes, he proceeded with great expedition; and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Gloucester in triumph, when the garrison was reduced to extremity. Having supplied the town with provision, ammunition, and a reinforcement of soldiers, he marched to Tewksbury; from whence he made a sudden motion to Cirencester, where he surpris'd two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provisions prepared for the king's army: then he took his route thro' the northern parts of Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions.

Battle of
Newbury.

Prince Rupert was immediately detached over the hills, to intercept him in his march, and amuse him with skirmishes, until the king in person should bring up the infantry. He performed this service with such expedition, that before the enemy reached Newbury, he charged, and put their rear in confusion; and, though they behaved with great conduct and resolution, he compelled them to shorten their intended march, and take up their quarters at Hungerford. Next day, which was the seventeenth of September, the king took possession of Newbury with his foot; so that Essex was obliged to pass the night in the open field; and was indeed in such a situation, that in all probability he would have found it extremely difficult to extricate himself, had the royalists avoided a battle: but he was obliged to the impetuosity of some young

young officers, who despised such maxims of caution. He drew up his men in order of battle, upon Briggs-hill, within a short mile of Newbury, and made such a disposition as became a general of his conduct and experience. The royalists began to skirmish in small successive parties, until they were insensibly engaged so far, that the king found it necessary to hazard a general action. The king's horse charged with their usual intrepidity, and even routed the cavalry of Essex; but they could make no impression upon his foot, behind which the horse rallied as often as they were put in confusion. The London trained-bands, in particular, opposed themselves like a rampart against the efforts of the royalists, and managed their pikes with such dexterity, that prince Rupert attacked them in vain, at the head of his choice cavalry. The battle was fought all day, with equal obstinacy on both sides; and night parted the combatants, before either army could claim the victory. The king recalled his troops from the field; and next morning the earl of Essex pursued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had been severely handled by prince Rupert, who charged it when entangled in defiles, at the head of his horse, and one thousand musqueteers. Though the number of men slain in the battle of Newbury was not very considerable, the king sustained irreparable loss in the fate of some worthy noblemen who fell in the engagement. The earl of Sunderland, a young nobleman of promising parts, was killed by a cannon-bullet. The earl of Caernarvon who had served his royal master with such courage and ability, was run through the body with a sword, and expired in an hour after he had received the wound; but the theme of universal lamentation was the

A. C. 1643. the death of the great, the good, the amiable
 Death of
 lord Falk-
 land. Lucius Cary lord viscount Falkland, secretary of
 state, the darling of the muses, the patron of learning and merit, the mirror of integrity, and the pattern of consummate virtue. This excellent person had constantly opposed the crown in those measures which he deemed dangerous to the liberty of the subject, and the privileges of parliament: but when he perceived the drift of the demagogues was to ruin the constitution; that the king had sufficiently atoned for the errors of his conduct, during the first part of his reign, by the manifold concessions he had made in favour of his people, he disclaimed their proceedings, and espoused the cause of his sovereign in distress: yet he was so much afflicted at seeing his country involved in the calamities of a civil war, that he lost his former serenity of temper; he became silent, pensive, and reserved; and, in the midst of his friends, the word, "Peace" often broke from him with a profound sigh. He eagerly forwarded every overture of an accommodation; and, that this conduct might not seem the result of personal timidity, he exposed himself on all occasions to the most imminent hazard, as if he had despised life, or been enamoured of danger. When his temper first changed, he began to neglect the exterior ornaments of his person, in which he had been formerly exact and curious; but in the morning of the battle, as if he had foreseen his fate, he bestowed extraordinary pains upon his apparel, saying, the enemy should not find his body in a slovenly condition. "I am weary of the times (added he) and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it before night." He charged in the front of lord Byron's regiment, and being shot in the belly, fell from his horse; but his
 body

body was not found till next morning. This is one of the most finished characters which we find upon record; and his death the more lamentable, as he died in the four and thirtieth year of his age.

A. C. 16. 3.
Clarendon.
Rushworth.
Whitelock.

The earl of Essex having refreshed his men at Reading, quitted that place, which was immediately secured for the king, with a strong garrison, commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley: and his majesty retired to Oxford. Essex, by slow marches, returned to London, where he was received with joy and acclamation; and the two houses appointed a solemn thanksgiving, not only for his success in relieving Gloucester, but also for the signal victory he had obtained at Newbury. Indeed this action might have been fatal to the king, had Sir William Waller, who was quartered at Windsor with four thousand horse and foot, advanced to the assistance of Essex: but he did not at all interest himself in the fortune of that nobleman; though they were afterwards formally reconciled to each other by the mediation of the two houses. The king's little court was distracted by cabals. Prince Rupert thwarted the marquis of Hertford: the queen had her own favourites, among whom the principal was the lord Jermyn. The earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, were treated with coldness and reserve, even after they had served at the siege of Gloucester, and behaved with remarkable gallantry at the last battle. They resented this impolitic conduct of the king, who was incapable of dissimulation; and took the first opportunity of returning to the parliament, from which they easily obtained forgiveness: the earl of Northumberland being informed of the reception they had met with at Oxford, resumed his seat in the house of lords, without being questioned, as he had never manifested his intention to desert their cause.

Earls of
Bedford,
Clare, and
Holland,
abandon the
king.

A. C. 1643.

The two
houses sub-
scribe the
solemn
league and
covenant.

Whitelock.

The committee of the commons which had been sent into Scotland, met with all the success they could desire in their negotiation with the convention of estates, and the general assembly of that nation. They declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed that the two kingdoms should agree in a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. A draught of such a covenant was transmitted to the two houses at Westminster, where it was received with applause; and subscribed by the lords, commons, and assembly of divines. By this solemn league and covenant, they bound themselves to preserve the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to promote a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people; to defend his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; to discover incendiaries and malignants, that they might receive condign punishment; to promote a firm peace and union to all posterity; to assist one another with all their power, renounce neutrality, and resist temptation; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation. This covenant was read in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, in presence of both houses; and the commons ordered that it should be taken next Sunday by all persons in their respective parishes. The Scots, on this occasion, were partly influenced by temporal interest, and partly by fanaticism. They began to fear, that should the king triumph over the two houses, he would retract all the concessions which had been extorted from him by the Scottish nation. They were inflamed with the hope of establishing their
darling

darling presbytery in England, and even extending it to the remotest regions, and some of them were allured with the prospect of sharing the spoils of the royalists. A.C. 1643.

In the beginning of the spring, the earl of London, chancellor of Scotland, with other commissioners of that kingdom, attended by their apostle Henderson, had visited the king at Oxford, and renewed their offer of mediation. They even, in the most pressing solicitation, recommended the presbyterian model of worship and discipline; and he was obliged to desire they would be contented with the concessions he had already made in their favour. They met with no better success, in requesting him to summon a Scottish parliament; and in demanding a passport for London, where they intended to confer with the two houses. Thus baffled in all their endeavours, they returned highly discontented to their own country. As they could not prevail upon the king to convoke a parliament, the conservators of the peace, lately chosen to maintain the confederacy with England, assembled in his majesty's name a convention of the estates, which, as well as the parliament, was vested with power to levy troops, and impose taxes. The duke of Hamilton, and his brother the earl of Lanerk, had undertaken to oppose the king's adversaries in this assembly: but either from want of sincerity, or power, they concurred with them in all their transactions. The Scottish covenanters were themselves over-reached by the profound craft and impenetrable dissimulation of Sir Henry Vane, who, though he hated presbytery, as much as he was averse to episcopacy, acquiesced in all their demands, assisted them in drawing up the covenant, seemed to enter warmly into their religious views, and loudly extolled their discipline, which in his heart he despised. Thus cajoled, and encouraged with the

A. C. 1643.

The Scots
assemble an
army.

Clarendon.

The king
and queen-
mother of
France send
over an am-
bassador to
offer their
mediation
for a peace
between the
king and
parliament.

sum of one hundred thousand pounds, advanced to them on the credit of the two houses, they began to assemble their forces with great alacrity; and, in a little time, their army amounted to twenty thousand men, the command of whom they bestowed upon their old general the earl of Leven, who accepted the office without hesitation, though he had solemnly promised that he would never bear arms against his majesty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was stipulated, that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster, for carrying on the war with equal authority; and that there should be no treaty of peace without the joint consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms.

About this time, the count D'Harcourt arrived in London, as ambassador extraordinary from the king and queen regent of France, to offer their good offices towards a reconciliation between the king and his parliament. He was received with great ceremony by the two houses, and visited the king at Oxford. At his return from thence, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, desiring he would intimate to parliament, that the king his master, and the queen his mistress, were extremely desirous of interposing their good offices for re-establishing the peace of England; and that, if they would explain the reasons that induced them to take up arms, he would endeavour to propose such expedients as might effect an accommodation. The two houses accepted the offer of the king and queen regent of France, with all due respect; and assured him, that when he should make any propositions to the parliament, by authority from their majesties of France, they would return suitable answers. He had, at his first arrival in Oxford, proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between the king and his master; and afterwards,

wards, when Charles agreed to the proposal, he waved it on a frivolous pretence; but promised that the court of France should assist the king of England in every thing that might contribute to the re-establishment of his authority. After some slight efforts to produce a negotiation, he quitted the kingdom, not without suspicion of having fomented those differences which he pretended to compromise. Richlieu was now dead, but succeeded in the ministry by cardinal Mazarin, who adopted the maxims of his predecessor.

The two houses having prepared a new great-seal, exactly resembling that which the lord-keeper Lyttleton had delivered to the king, published an ordinance, declaring void and invalid all grants and letters patent, which had passed the great-seal since the keeper left the house; vesting their own seal with the whole authority; and pronouncing that whosoever should, for the future, pass or claim any thing under another great-seal, should be held an enemy to the state. It was committed to six commissioners, solemnly sworn to execute the office of keepers of the great-seal, according to the orders of both houses of parliament; and the first instance in which they used it, was a patent constituting the earl of Warwick lord high-admiral of England. The king having sent writs to the judges of Westminster for adjourning the term to Oxford, the messengers were tried by a court-martial as spies, and condemned to be hanged: one was accordingly executed, and the other committed to Bridewell. Charles, notwithstanding his successes in the course of the campaign, had met with divers checks that had an unfortunate influence on his affairs. Besides his being obliged to raise the siege of Gloucester, and the loss he had sustained at Newbury, three thousand of the king's men, under major-general Goring, were defeated at Wakefield.

The king summons the lords and commons to Oxford.

A. C. 1643: by young Fairfax; and their commander fell into the hands of the enemy: lord Withrington with part of the troops belonging to the marquis of Newcastle's forces, were routed at Horn-castle in Lincolnshire, by the earl of Manchester, lord Wilboughby, and Oliver Cromwell: he was likewise obliged to raise the siege of Hull, which he had undertaken in consequence of a correspondence with the two Hothams, who were detected and sent prisoners to London; and the Scots were by this time in a condition to enter England. In hope of averting the storm from Scotland, the peers at Oxford subscribed a letter to the Scottish council of state, representing the foulness of the rebellion raised by the two houses at Westminster, reminding them of their obligation to the king, and conjuring them to desist from their purpose of assisting the parliament: then the king, to convince his subjects of the preposterous claim which the remnant at Westminster laid to the appellation of parliament, issued a proclamation, summoning the members of both houses to assemble at Oxford, on a certain day in January fixed for that purpose.

He concludes a truce with the rebels in Ireland.

His next expedient for his own defence, was a scheme to use part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. The English parliament had taken no other effectual step to distress the Irish Roman catholics, but that of contracting with the Scots, who sent over a good number of troops, that made a diversion from Dublin, and protected the British planters in the North. Notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers, the English troops in that kingdom had routed the rebels in many encounters; and the earl of Ormond had obtained two signal victories over them. Nevertheless, as the two houses neglected to supply them with provision, ammunition, and recruits, they were by this time destitute of the common necessities

cessaries of life. The justices, who were disaffected to the king, had been removed by the influence of Ormond, and their places supplied with others, who wished well to his majesty; for this reason, the parliament paid the less regard to their solicitations. They transmitted to the two houses a remonstrance from the army, describing their deplorable situation, and desiring leave to quit the kingdom, otherwise they should have recourse to those means with which nature had furnished them for their own preservation. The rebels had sent repeated petitions to the king, beseeching him to appoint commissioners to hear what they could say in their own vindication. Influenced by these concurring motives, he authorized Ormond and the justices to conclude a cessation for one year, with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and ordered the earl to transport part of the army to England.

The lords and commons meeting at Oxford, agreed, with the king's approbation, to send a trumpet with a letter to the earl of Essex, expressing their earnest desire to heal the bleeding wounds of their country, and conjuring him to communicate this their desire to the two houses at Westminster, that persons might be appointed on either part to treat of an accommodation. This letter was subscribed by three and forty noblemen, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; whereas, not above two and twenty peers were engaged in the opposite party. The earl of Essex sent back the trumpeter with a short billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, importing, that he could not communicate the letter to parliament, because it was not addressed to the two houses. At the same time, he

Declaration of the lords and commons at Oxford, against the Scots, who enter England.

A. D. 1643 transmitted copies of the national covenant, and a casting declaration of both kingdoms, pronouncing the curse of Merôz upon those who should not come to help the Lord against the mighty. The king, without intermitting his preparations for war, sent a message to the lords and commons at Westminster, proposing a treaty: and to this they replied, That they were resolved to defend the rights of parliament with their lives and fortunes, desiring his majesty's hearty concurrence with their measures. All hope of a pacification was again dispelled. The houses at Westminster imposed an excise on wine, beer, and other commodities; and those at Oxford followed their example. These last published a declaration, explaining the reasons which had compelled them to leave the parliament at Westminster. They declared that the Scots had broke the act of pacification: that all his majesty's subjects of England and Wales were bound by their allegiance to resist them: that their abettors were traitors and enemies to the state: that the lords and commons at Westminster were guilty of high treason, for having levied war against the king; for having counterfeited the great seal; and consented to the invasion of the Scots: that, in these three instances, they had betrayed the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be prosecuted as traitors to the king and kingdom. The marquis of Newcastle marched northwards, from York, in order to oppose the Scots, who entered England in January, when the weather was extremely severe; but colonel Bellasis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and secure York; while Fairfax marched into Cheshire.

The marquis of Ormond being created lord lieutenant of Ireland, sent over a good body of foot

to

to Chester, where, joining the lord Byron, they reduced several places, and defeated a detachment of the parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the siege of that place; but their good fortune was of short duration. Sir Thomas Fairfax joining Sir William Brereton, marching to the relief of the besieged, charged them suddenly, at a time when they were divided by a rivulet swelled by excessive rain: the garrison making a sally at the same time, the besiegers were totally routed, and lord Byron escaped with the horse to Chester. On this occasion the celebrated colonel Monk was taken, and committed prisoner to the Tower; but he afterwards engaged in the service of the parliament. The earl of Montrose, in a visit to the king at Oxford, had impeached the conduct of duke Hamilton in such a manner, that his majesty was convinced of that nobleman's having betrayed his interest, and when the duke, with his brother the earl of Lanerk, came to court from Scotland at this juncture, they were put under an arrest by the king's order; Lanerk escaped to London; but the duke was committed prisoner to Bristol, and afterwards removed to the castle of Pendennis in Cornwall. About this time, the two houses were deprived of their corner-stone, in the death of John Pym, who had in a great measure influenced all their counsels, and was a man of extensive parts, and indefatigable industry. The prince elector palatine, who had retired from England in the beginning of the civil war, now arrived in London, and was cherished by the parliament. Whitehall was assigned to him for his lodgings. The two houses issued an order for paying the pension of twelve thousand pounds, which had been formerly granted to him by his majesty; he subscribed the solemn

A. D. 1643.
The troops from Ireland routed at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

A.C. 1643. solemn league and covenant, and was admitted to sit in the assembly of divines.

A.C. 1644. Mean while, the severity of the season did not interrupt the operations of war. As the marquis of Newcastle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. They summoned the town of Newcastle to surrender, but the garrison refusing to submit, they passed the Tyne, and being joined by the lord Fairfax at Tadcaster, the two generals resolved to undertake the siege of York, to which the marquis had retired. As it was a city of a large extent, they would not proceed in form, until they should be reinforced by the troops under the earl of Manchester, who commanded in the associated counties; and in the mean time, they formed a blockade on one side only. The town of Newark in Nottinghamshire, garrisoned by the king's troops, being besieged by lord Willoughby and Sir John Meldrum, at the head of five thousand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to succour the place. When he approached the town, Meldrum, who commanded in the absence of Willoughby, drew up his army in order of battle; and an action ensuing, both sides fought with great obstinacy till night, when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge where he had posted a strong guard, to secure his retreat. This, however, he found occupied by the royalists, so that he was surrounded on all hands, and next day obliged to capitulate. The prince agreed, that the officers and troopers should retire with their horses, and the infantry with their swords: but Meldrum was obliged to deliver up all his other arms, artillery, and ammunition.

After this signal victory, prince Rupert marched to the relief of the countess of Derby, who was besieged in her house of Latham in Lancashire, by a body

Prince Rupert totally defeats the parliamentarians at Newark.

body of five thousand parliamentarians. She had defended herself with incredible courage for two months; and now the besiegers abandoning their enterprise, part of them reinforced the garrison of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by assault. Then he made himself master of Liverpool, where he received a letter from the king, commanding him to relieve York, and give battle to the enemy. By this time, the earl of Leven and lord Fairfax were joined by the earl of Manchester, with a good body of infantry; and the siege of York was begun. The marquis of Newcastle made a vigorous defence; and about the beginning of July, prince Rupert approached at the head of an army little inferior in number to the besiegers. They forthwith abandoned their enterprise, and took post on Marston-moor, while the prince entered York in triumph. He there, in a conference with the marquis, proposed to give battle to the enemy, and paid no regard to the remonstrances of that nobleman, who assured him, that the Scots and English being at variance, would separate in a few days, of their own accord; and that he expected a reinforcement of five thousand men from the North. The prince, on this occasion, demeaned himself in such an imperious manner as shocked and incensed the marquis, whose birth and services intitled him to the utmost respect. When the prince ordered the troops to be in readiness to engage next day, the marquis told him, he should not hesitate in obeying his majesty's nephew; but that, for his own part, he would serve as a volunteer in the battle. On the third day of July the prince advanced against the enemy; and about two in the afternoon, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. But as there was a ditch between them, some time elapsed before the action began. The prince appeared at the head of his

Battle of
Marston-
moor.

left

A. D. 1644. left wing, consisting of five thousand horse; the right was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urry; while the main body was directed by general Goring. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the enemy, consisting of all their cavalry, joined by three regiments of Scottish horse; the left was under the direction of the earl of Manchester and lieutenant-general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took post with a body of reserve, consisting of his infantry, reinforced with a brigade of the Scottish foot; and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were totally routed; and the three generals of the parliament quitting the field, fled towards Cawood castle. But the battle was restored by the valour and conduct of Oliver Cromwell, who, at the head of their left wing, engaged the right of the royalists, in which the marquis of Newcastle acted as a volunteer. They fought on both sides with incredible fury for some time; but at length the king's forces were totally defeated: and when his left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the pursuit, Cromwell attacked it with such intrepidity before it could be reduced into order, that it was entirely broken and dispersed; so that the parliament obtained a complete victory. The prince lost six thousand men, one half of whom fell in battle; together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was so much chagrined and confounded at this reverse of fortune, that instead of retiring into York, until he should receive further orders from his majesty, he retreated into Shropshire, with the wreck of his army, while the marquis of Newcastle, disgusted by his imperious deportment, embarked at Scarborough for the continent, where he remained till the restoration. He

Rushworth.
Whitelock.
Eudlow.
Clarendon.

He was a nobleman of a most dignified character; a liberal and munificent patron of the ingenious arts, of unshaken loyalty, invincible courage, and extensive influence; so that the royal cause sustained an irreparable loss in his retreat. Immediately after the battle of Marston-moor, the three generals returned to the siege of York, which in a few days was surrendered by Sir Thomas Glenham the governor, who found himself unable to hold out for any length of time, and despaired of relief. The lord Fairfax took possession of the city; the earl of Manchester marched back towards the associated counties; and the Scottish army returned to the North, in order to join the earl of Calendar on his march from Scotland with a strong reinforcement. When this junction was effected, they undertook the siege of Newcastle, which they carried by assault.

The parliament had made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. Besides the armies of Fairfax and Manchester they had levied ten thousand horse and foot to be under the command of Essex; and ordered the associated counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, to maintain six thousand under the command of Sir William Waller, whom they intended to oppose to prince Maurice in the West, where he bore down all opposition. The king, in order to baffle their design, detached lord Hopton towards Sussex, and Waller faced him at Farnham; but after some slight skirmishes, this general withdrew his troops into the place, and repaired to London, that he might represent to the two houses the necessity of a reinforcement. He was accordingly supplied with a body of the city-militia, and Essex was ordered to accommodate him with a thousand horse, under the command of Sir William Balfour. Waller, thus reinforced, retook the castle of Arundel, which Hopton had

Rushworth's
Clarendon.

1646. reduced in his absence; and this last general, having received a supply of men from his majesty, resolved to give the enemy battle. The two armies met near Alresford, on the twenty-ninth day of March. The king's horse were routed by Sir William Balfour, and the infantry very severely handled: nevertheless the action continued till night, when Lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in possession of the field; from whence he marched to Winchester, which he plundered; though he could not reduce the castle.

Lord Hopton
was worsted
at Alresford.

The king
retires to
Worcester.

The two houses, elated by this advantage, resolved to finish the war at once, by undertaking the siege of Oxford, where the king resided; and for this service they destined the armies of Essex and Waller. The king, suspecting their design, withdrew his garrison from Reading, after having dismantled the place, and assembled an army amounting to twelve thousand men; part of which he posted at Abingdon, in order to check the progress of the enemy. Essex and Waller began their march apart; the first at the head of twelve thousand foot and three thousand cavalry: the other with seven thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred dragoons. At the approach of Essex the king's officer abandoned his post at Abingdon, of which the other took immediate possession; while his majesty endeavoured to defend the banks of the Isis and the Cherwell, which however they found means to pass in spite of all his endeavours. They thought they had now entangled their sovereign in the toil; but he escaped in the night with a small body of horse, at the head of which he and the prince arrived in safety at Worcester. He had already prorogued his parliament at Oxford, and the queen had retired to Exeter, very far advanced in her pregnancy. There she was delivered of the
princess

princess Henrietta; and when Essex advanced into the western counties, she demanded a safe-conduct for Bristol, which he refused. Then she retired to Cornwall, where she embarked for France, under convoy of a ship of war sent thither by the prince of Orange. The generals of the parliament were not a little surprised when they understood the king had escaped from Oxford. The two houses had ordered Essex to follow his majesty, in case he should retire from that city; and Waller was commanded to manage their interest in the West. The earl, however, marched into the western counties, contrary to their disposition; and he advanced as far as Salisbury, when he received an order from the parliament, commanding him to return and pursue the king, and leave the western expedition to Waller. Instead of obeying this mandate, he wrote a letter to the committee of war, explaining his conduct, and subscribed himself "their innocent, though suspected servant." They did not think proper to exasperate him at such a juncture, and he prosecuted his march into Devonshire. Prince Maurice raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. Dorchester, Weymouth, and Tiverton surrendered to the earl, and he was admitted into Barnstaple, where finding one Howard, an officer in the king's army, who had deserted from the service of the parliament, he ordered him to be executed by martial law. Prince Maurice retaliated this instance of severity upon one Turpin, master of a ship, who had been formerly condemned for carrying arms against his sovereign; though the execution of the sentence had been hitherto respited. The two houses, incensed at the prince's presumption, ordered judge Glanville to be prosecuted as guilty of high treason, for having been concerned in condemning Turpin. This judge had declared for the king in the beginning of

A. C. 1644. of the civil war; but, in the sequel, abandoned the cause of his sovereign. Fourteen clothiers were hanged at Woodhouse by the king's party; and the parliamentarians executed eight Irish prisoners, who had been taken in a skirmish.

The king arrived at Worcester on the sixth day of June; and in order to deceive the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with surprising expedition, he made a feigned march towards Shrewsbury, as if he had intended to join prince Rupert before the battle of Marston-moor. Waller, believing this was really his intention, made a hasty march, and took post between him and Shrewsbury: then the king wheeled off suddenly, and took the route to Oxford, in the neighbourhood of which he was joined by the rest of his army. After this junction he marched to Buckinghamshire, in order to give battle to the enemy. Waller approached with the same design; and the two armies appeared on opposite sides of the river Cherwell, on the twenty-ninth day of June. The king, with a view to draw Waller from the advantageous ground of which he had taken possession, pretended to begin his march for Northamptonshire, leaving a strong guard at the bridge of Cropredy, to dispute the passage with the foe. Receiving intelligence that a large detachment of the enemy was within a mile of his van, he ordered it to double its pace, in hope of intercepting the whole body: Waller no sooner perceived that there was a great distance between his van and his rear, than he ordered a large detachment to ford the river; while he himself, with fifteen hundred horse, a thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himself master of the bridge of Cropredy. Then passing with his whole forces, he fell upon the king's rear, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his

Action at
Cropredy-
bridge.

his horse, took part of his artillery, and compelled him to repass the river with precipitation. The king attacked the bridge and ford in his turn: the last he gained; but his attempt upon the bridge was ineffectual. Next day, on the supposition that Waller's soldiers would lay down their arms upon an assurance of pardon, the king sent a trumpeter to demand a safe-conduct for a gentleman, with a gracious message from his majesty; but Waller answered, that he had no power to receive any such message without the consent of parliament, to which the king might make his application.

After the two armies had faced one another for two days, they retired by different routes. Waller employed himself in recruiting his army, which had sustained great loss in the action; and the king resolved to direct his march to the western counties, in order to join prince Maurice; and give battle to the earl of Essex. By easy marches he arrived at Bath, where he received the melancholy account of the battle at Marston-moor. How mortified sooner he must have been by this intelligence, he bore his fate with surprising fortitude, and still persisted in his resolution to execute the scheme he had projected. Essex, being apprised of his design, proposed to meet him half way, and hazard an engagement, if he should find a favourable opportunity: but he was diverted from this resolution by the lord Roberts, a major-general in his army, who, being a Cornish man, pressed him to proceed in his route to Cornwall; where (he assured him) the inhabitants would immediately declare for the parliament: the earl accordingly entered that county on the twenty-sixth day of July. On that very day the king arrived at Exeter, from whence he followed Essex towards Launceston and Bodmin; where that nobleman, finding himself disappointed in his hopes, wrote to the two houses, demanding

Rushworth.

A. C. 1644. that an army should be sent immediately to make a diversion in his favour. Waller being both unable and unwilling to undertake this expedition, colonel Middleton was detached on that service, at the head of five and twenty hundred horse. The king, conscious of the straits to which he had reduced the enemy, wrote a letter with his own hand to Essex, exhorting him to use his influence for procuring peace to his country. Prince Maurice and the earl of Brentford wrote to him on the same subject; and he received a letter, signed by all the general officers of the king's army, proposing a treaty; and protesting they would maintain with their lives and fortunes the conditions to which his majesty should agree. To these addressees he replied, that the best thing the king could do would be to return to his parliament. About this time lord Wilmot, who had for some time fomented a spirit of mutiny among the troops, and even given Essex to understand, that the officers would compel the king to conclude an equitable peace, was arrested and deprived of his employment, which the king bestowed on lord Goring, his rival in wit, good fellowship, and reputation. Wilmot was afterwards permitted to quit the kingdom. The earl of Essex was now reduced to such straits for want of provision, that the king, being reinforced by Sir Richard Greenville, resolved to reduce him without hazarding a battle. He accordingly raised a fort upon the bank of the river by which he had been supplied, and hemmed him in on all sides, so as to intercept all his convoys. In this emergency the earl ordered Sir William Balfour to force his passage through the king's quarters, at the head of the cavalry; and this service was successfully performed, under cover of a very dark night. Then Essex sent a trumpet to demand a parley of the king; but, before the messenger

Essex's infantry disarmed in the west.

re-

returned, he embarked with some officers in a vessel at Foy, and was conveyed to Plymouth, leaving major-general Skippon to make the best terms he could obtain for the infantry. A conference was opened by some officers of each army, who agreed that Skippon should deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition; That the officers should retain their swords and pistols, and march out with drums beating and colours flying: That they should be conducted, at their choice, to Litchfield, Foy, Pool, Warham, or Southampton; and that the men should not be importuned to enlist in the king's service. Essex, at his return to London, was treated with great civility by the two houses, notwithstanding the cause they had to complain of his conduct. His soldiers were immediately furnished with new arms; and his forces recruited. The earl of Manchester and colonel Middleton were ordered to reinforce his army; and so far were they from being dispirited by this disaster, that they paid no attention to a message received from the king, proposing a treaty for peace.

After an unsuccessful attempt upon Plymouth, his majesty left it blockaded by Sir Richard Greenville, and marching to Chard in Somersetshire, published a proclamation, representing, That his offers of peace had been rejected by the two houses; signifying his resolution to approach London, and commanding the inhabitants of the country through which he should march, to take up arms and join his forces. This expedient produced very little effect in his favour. His army, instead of increasing, was diminished one half since he set out on his western expedition. His soldiers were destitute of clothing, necessaries, and pay; and the horse were disgusted at the disgrace of Wilmot, who had been very popular among the cavalry.

A. C. 1644. The king was so long retarded in remedying these inconveniences, that he found it impracticable to execute his design, and resolved to return to Oxford. Even this scheme was attended with many difficulties. Sir William Waller was posted at Andover. The earl of Essex being recruited and reinforced, began his march towards the same place; and the earl of Manchester was at hand to join the other two generals. In vain the king attempted to prevent their junction, which was effected at Reading on the twenty-first day of October. He then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse, to relieve Banbury-castle, besieged by colonel John Fiennes, with the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; while he himself marched to Donnington-castle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, a fortress which had been long blocked up and besieged by the parliament's forces. Having thrown succours into the place, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, he took possession of Newbury, where he entrenched himself, while the enemy marched against him from Reading, with a great superiority in number of troops. On the twenty-seventh day of October, they attacked his entrenchments in two different parts; and the action was maintained with great violence from four o'clock in the afternoon till night, when the assailants forced the lines in one place, and took several pieces of cannon; but the darkness prevented them from making use of that advantage. On the other side, they had been repulsed with considerable loss: nevertheless, the king thought proper to retire in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the castle of Donnington, which the earl of Manchester next day summoned to surrender. Though the governor refused to capitulate, they took no step towards the

Second battle of Newbury.

the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, where former animosities between their generals began to revive with redoubled violence. The king retired unmolested to Oxford, where, being joined by prince Rupert with the northern horse, as well as by the earl of Northampton, and reinforced with draughts from different garrisons, he found himself at the head of eleven thousand men, with whom he marched back to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle between that castle and the town of Newbury. The enemy likewise appeared in battalia; but they did not think proper to attack the king, who happily returned to Oxford with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which he had left in the castle.

Clarendon.
Rushworth.

In the course of this year, the two houses had ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for the service of the public. They published an ordinance totally excluding those members who had deserted their seats in parliament. The States-general sent ambassadors to England, with offers of mediation between the king and parliament. As they were supposed to be influenced by the king's son-in-law the prince of Orange, the two houses eluded the offer, on pretence that they could take no step of that kind without the concurrence of the Scottish nation, with which they were united by the covenant. They, by another ordinance, forbade their officers and soldiers to give quarter to the Irish who should be taken in the king's service. On the eleventh day of November archbishop Laud, who had remained a prisoner since his first impeachment, was brought to his trial, and made such a vigorous defence, that the commons foreseeing he could not be convicted by common evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder, which passed the house of lords, though

Archbishop
Laud con-
demned and
executed.

A. C. 1644. not without some opposition. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy-counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; a request which the commons granted with difficulty. On the tenth day of January, this aged prelate was brought to the scaffold, where he harangued the spectators with great fortitude. He declared himself innocent of any design to subvert the laws of the realm, or to establish popery. He protested he had never been an enemy to parliaments, though he could not applaud some of their proceedings. He forgave all his enemies; prayed that God would direct the parliament for the good of the nation; and submitted his neck to the executioner, who with one stroke severed his head from his body. Thus fell the famous archbishop Laud, a prelate of uncommon learning, piety, and virtue, which were clouded with some unhappy prejudices that proved pernicious to his country. About this time the two Hothams were convicted by a court-martial, and beheaded for having connived at the escape of lord Digby, and corresponded with the marquis of Newcastle. On the fourth day of January, the two houses passed an ordinance for abolishing the book of Common-prayer and the Liturgy, and for establishing the Directory, which had been composed by the ecclesiastical assembly.

Whitelock.

Treaty of
Uxbridge.

This was a bad omen for the treaty which was then in agitation between the king and parliament. Immediately after his majesty's return to Oxford from Newbury, the two houses demanded and obtained a safe-conduct for their deputies, with proposals of peace, which they had drawn up in the summer. The king having heard them read, demanded, in his turn, a safe-conduct for the duke
of

of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who should carry an answer to the two houses: but this request they would not grant, until he addressed himself to the two houses of the English parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the commissioners of Scotland. On this occasion, Charles had recourse to a subterfuge which does no great honour to his sincerity. He entered a secret protest in the council-books, importing, that though he had denominated them the parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such. By his deputies he proposed that commissioners should be appointed on each side, to meet at an indifferent place, and treat of a pacification. After some disputes, they agreed that the conferences should be opened at Uxbridge, on the thirtieth of January, and continue twenty days; and that the propositions should be reduced to the three articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The king's commissioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; and eleven commons, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde now chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The two houses appointed twelve deputies, at the head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; and the chief of the Scottish commissioners were the earl of Loudon chancellor of that kingdom, and the marquis of Argyle. The propositions offered by the two houses were no other than the most severe conditions they could have imposed upon a prince whom they intended to strip of all the power, and indeed of all the ensigns of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms: That the king should subscribe the covenant; abandon his best friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even

A. C. 1644. his own children to the direction of the two houses, which engrossed the whole sovereign authority, Though no peace was to be expected from such proposals, the king's commissioners, in the course of the conferences, agreed, That every person should enjoy liberty of conscience touching the ceremonies of the church: That no bishop should exercise any sort of jurisdiction: That no person should be admitted into holy orders without the consent of the presbytery: That episcopal jurisdiction, with respect to marriages and wills, should be regulated by the king and the two houses: That proper laws should be enacted for the regulations of episcopal visits, the expence of ecclesiastical suits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuses of the spiritual courts: That the militia should be put into the hands of twenty commissioners, one half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houses: and, That the commission should last for three years. These concessions were not deemed satisfactory by the two houses. Nothing material was proposed, relating to the affairs of Ireland; and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up, without having produced any prospect of accommodation.

Difference
between the
presbyterians
and independents.

Rushworth.
Whitelock.

This miscarriage of the treaty was extremely agreeable to the independent party, which now began to distinguish itself from the presbyterians, with whom it had hitherto concurred in abasing the royal authority: in every other circumstance their views were quite different. The presbyterians sought to humble and restrain the prerogative; the independents to abolish monarchy, and introduce a democracy. The presbyterians rejected the hierarchy; the independents renounced all forms of church-government. They even condemned the ordination of ministers, allowing all persons, without exception, to preach, teach, and expound the scriptures,

scriptures, according to the talents they had received from God and nature. This sect was composed of such fanatics as gave a loose to the wildest reveries of enthusiasm. It was headed by Vane, Cromwell, Tate, and Haslerig, who found it the best engine for effecting their purpose of overturning the constitution in church and state. These now began to practise every art of acquiring popularity. They employed emissaries among the people, to magnify the errors which had been committed since the commencement of the war, both in the civil and military administration; to insinuate that all such misconduct proceeded from the interested views of individuals, who found their account in the troubles of the nation: and that some of the generals had purposely neglected opportunities of fighting to advantage, dreading nothing so much as a termination of the war. Cromwell had publicly accused the earl of Manchester of having misbehaved from these motives, in the last battle of Newbury. The earl recriminated upon Cromwell, by declaring that, in a conference with this officer, he said, that if Manchester would stick firm to honest men, he would soon find himself at the head of an army, that should give law both to king and parliament. This declaration alarmed the two houses, and in a conference at Essex-house, it was deliberated whether or not Cromwell should be arrested; but this step was postponed to another opportunity. Mean while Oliver and his associates hastened the execution of the scheme they had projected for new-modelling the army. They proposed that the troops should be formed into new regiments; and that members of parliament should be excluded from all offices civil and military.

The house of commons having resolved itself into a grand committee, to examine the state of the nation, Cromwell stood up, saying, now was the time

The houses
new-model
the army.

time to speak, or be silent for ever. He affirmed, that the name of parliament would become odious to the people, unless they should act with more vigour in the prosecution of the war, which some members were accused of protracting for their own interest; and he gave it as his opinion, that every member should resign the office he possessed, as a mark of his disinterested regard for the welfare of the nation. He was seconded by some of his confederates, who spoke in general terms: at length, Tate and Vane proposed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatsoever. A committee was appointed to prepare it, together with another for new-modelling the army. A fast was proclaimed for imploring the assistance of God on their endeavours. The pulpits rang with invectives against those members of parliament, who engrossing profitable employments in the government and the army, grew rich by the misfortunes of their country. On the nineteenth day of December, the self-denying ordinance passed the lower house; but was rejected by the lords. Nevertheless, the commons voted new regulations for the army, and bestowed the command of it upon Sir Thomas Fairfax, with power to choose his own officers. He accordingly delivered his list of colonels, in which there was not one member of parliament. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, finding it impossible to resist the popular torrent, resigned their commissions; and next day the lords passed the self-denying ordinance. The presbyterians were fairly outwitted by the nomination of Fairfax for general. He was of their profession, and they imagined he would be true to their interest; but he was intirely governed by the counsels of Cromwell, who disssembled his real sentiments, and professed himself a zealous presbyterian. While the new general resided at Windsor, where

where he had fixed his head-quarters, superintending the reformation of his army, the committee of the two kingdoms gave him to understand, that the king had ordered prince Rupert to join him with two thousand horse: they therefore directed him to detach a body of cavalry towards Oxford, to prevent this junction; and expressly ordered him to give the command of this detachment to Cromwell, as the time fixed for putting in execution the self-denying ordinance was not yet arrived. This order was calculated to retain Oliver in the service, even after the ordinance should take place.

During the course of the preceding year, the earl of Montrose had signalized himself in a wonderful series of victories, over the covenanters. On promise of being supplied with men by the earl of Antrim from the North of Ireland, he with great difficulty reached the Highlands of Scotland in disguise. When the Irish landed, to the number of eleven hundred, he produced the king's commission, and assembled about the same number of Highlanders, well affected to the royal cause. Without any regular provision of arms or ammunition, he attacked and routed lord Elcho at Perth, though he commanded an army of six thousand men, armed and well disciplined, one third of which number was slain in the battle and pursuit. Being afterwards joined by the earl of Airly, he routed five and twenty hundred covenanters, headed by the lord Burley at Aberdeen. When surrounded on all hands by the marquis of Argyle, the earl of Lothian, and other noblemen, with the militia of the country, he eluded all their vigilance by the most surprising retreats, marches, and stratagems. He kept the field in the middle of winter, when the ground was covered with snow, exposed to intense cold, famine, and fatigue: he ravaged the country of Argyle with fire and sword:

*Victories
obtained by
the earl of
Montrose in
Scotland.*

A. C. 1645. sword: he defeated the troops of the marquis at Innerlochy, with great slaughter. The terror of his name dispersed a body of five thousand men, whom the earl of Seaforth had assembled: he took Dundee by assault, and gave it up to plunder; and retreated above sixty miles, in the face of a superior enemy; commanded by colonel Urrey, who had by this time deserted the king, and joined the parliamentarians. He defeated this officer in a pitched battle near Inverness; and Bailie, another soldier of reputation, marching against him with a fresh army, met with the same disaster. Montrose having obtained such a succession of victories, summoned all the royalists of Scotland into the field, and made preparations for marching into the southern parts of that kingdom, in order to disperse the parliament, which had assembled at Perth, with great solemnity.

The parliament's army composed of fanatics.

The parliament's army was by this time new-modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, so that all members of parliament were excluded; and their adherents resigning their commissions, the vacant places were filled with independents. These acted the part of chaplains as well as of officers: in the intervals of military duty, they exercised themselves in sermon, prayer, and exhortation. They were seized with extasies of devotion, and poured forth rhapsodies, which they themselves mistook for prophecy and inspiration. Thus actuated, they mounted the pulpits, and held forth in a torrent of that sort of eloquence, which, tho' least understood, is the most effectual in kindling the blaze of enthusiasm. The common soldiers were infected by this contagion: they were seized with the same holy fervours: they underwent the operations of grace: they communicated their mutual feelings: they gave utterance to the spirit: they advanced to battle singing psalms, or religious songs:

songs: they fought with the most eager zeal, and died in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of such warriors that Cromwell marched from Windsor on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Ilip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Blechington was surrendered to him at the first summons, by colonel Windbank, who was condemned by a court-martial, and shot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulsed in his attack upon Farringdon. Taunton being besieged by Sir Richard Greenville, the two houses ordered the general to march to the relief of that place: but when he had advanced as far as Blandford, he received a countermanding order; in consequence of which he returned to Newbury, after having detached colonel Weldon with a body of horse and foot, to succour Taunton. At his approach Greenville raised the siege; but being afterwards joined by a reinforcement under Goring, he resumed his operations against the place, in which the detachment with Weldon was now included.

Rushworth,

The king marching to Leicester, took that town by assault; and Fairfax followed the same route, in order to give him battle, the two houses having, at the desire of their general, dispensed with the attendance of Cromwell, who thus preserved his command in the army, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance. Charles being informed that Fairfax was ordered to besiege Oxford, advanced towards Harborough, where he received intelligence that he had abandoned his design upon Oxford; and had been repulsed with great loss in assaulting the castle of Borsal. The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard with two thousand men from Wales, as well as by Goring, at the head of three thousand cavalry. This officer had wrote to him from Taunton,

A. C. 1645. Taunton, giving him hopes of reducing that place, and advising him to act upon the defensive, until he should join the army : but, the letter fell into the hands of Fairfax, who thus apprised, resolved to hazard an engagement before the junction could be effected. For this purpose he followed the royalists; and the king seeing it would be impossible to reach Leicester, without exposing his rear to certain destruction, determined to meet him half way. He accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on a rising-ground, in the neighbourhood of a village called Naseby. Prince Rupert led the right wing of the royalists: the left was under the direction of Sir Marmaduke Langdale: lord Astley commanded the main body, consisting of all the infantry: and the king headed the body of reserve. The cavalry on the enemy's right wing was commanded by Cromwell; the left by his son-in-law Ireton: while Fairfax and Skippon conducted the center. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his usual impetuosity and success: they were broke and pursued as far as the village; but the prince in his return mispent his time, in a fruitless attempt to seize their park of artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was furiously engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose horse were broken after a very obstinate dispute. The infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal valour for some time; but in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way, when Cromwell returned, and charged the king's infantry in flank, with such vigour as they could not resist; so that they were immediately routed and dispersed. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not
be

The king
totally de-
feated at
Naseby.

be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable: but here they were intimidated; for Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell, had by this time reduced their forces into order of battle, and stood ready either for attack or defence. The king would have charged them, at the head of his reserve, even before Rupert returned, had not he been prevented by an uncommon accident. The Scottish earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" The troops seeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied during the whole action. The king perceiving the fortune of the day irretrievably lost, was obliged to abandon the victory to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners. Among other things that fell into their hands was a casket, containing his private letters to the queen, some of which the two houses printed and published, as proofs of his insincerity with regard to the treaty of Uxbridge. We have already observed, that neither side was sincerely disposed to peace at that juncture; but such an air of tenderness runs through this correspondence between Charles and his consort, as must impress every impartial reader with a very favourable idea of his conjugal affection.

Clarendon.
Rushworth.

After the battle, he and prince Rupert retired with the horse to Ashby de la Zouche, from whence they proceeded to Hereford, where they parted. The prince repaired to Bristol, to put that place in a posture of defence; while the king continued his route to Wales, in hope of being able to assemble an army in that exhausted country. Fairfax advanced to Leicester, which surrendered upon capitulation. Then he marched into the West, where he raised the siege of Taunton, and totally defeat-

ed

A. C. 1645. ed the lord Goring at Lamport. This victory was attended with the reduction of Bridgewater, Sherburn, and Bath; after which Fairfax undertook the siege of Bristol. That place was well supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the known valour of prince Rupert, that it would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he should be able to hold out four months, unless a mutiny should compel him to surrender. Notwithstanding this promise, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the first summons; and actually delivered up the place before the besiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the first transports of his grief and resentment, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions.

Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol.

Clarendon.

Fairfax having secured Bristol with a proper garrison, resumed his march to the western counties, ordering Cromwell to keep open the communication with London; and detaching colonel Rainborough to besiege Berkeley-castle, which was the only place that remained in the king's possession between Gloucester and Bristol. Cromwell, in the course of this excursion, made himself master of the Devizes, the town and castle of Winchester, and several other places. Fairfax meanwhile reduced Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. had assembled an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give him battle, he advanced with great expedition to meet his royal highness, who thought proper to retreat into Cornwall, after part of his cavalry under lord Wentworth had been surprised by the enemy. Then Fairfax took Dartmouth by assault, and returned to the blockade of Exeter. Lord Goring had by this time retired to France; and the prince of Wales bestowed

bestowed the command of his army upon lord Hopton, who resolved to relieve Exeter. General Fairfax being informed of his design, left the conduct of the blockade to Sir Hardress Waller, and marched towards Torrington, where Hopton lay intrenched. His troops endeavouring to dislodge the parliamentarians from some of their posts in the night, were insensibly drawn into an engagement, which became general, and lasted till morning. The intrenchments were forced; the infantry on the king's side were either killed, taken, or dispersed; and lord Hopton retired with the cavalry into Cornwall. Thither he was followed by the victor; and the prince of Wales finding himself in danger of being taken, embarked on board of a vessel, and was conveyed to the isles of Scilly. Hopton continued still to retire before the army of the parliament, over which he gained some petty advantages; but at length he was surrounded on all hands at Truro, and obliged to take the benefit of a capitulation. He stipulated that his troops should be dismissed, and allowed either to cross the sea or return to their own houses. All their horses and arms were delivered to Fairfax, who granted passports to those who desired to quit the kingdom, after they had sworn that they would never serve against the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton and Colepepper retired to Scilly; and Fairfax returned to the siege of Exeter, which surrendered in the month of April.

A. C. 1645.
Fairfax obtains a victory over lord Hopton at Torrington.

Rushworth.

In the course of this year, the Scottish army besieged Carlisle, which surrendered on capitulation in the month of June. About the latter end of July, they invested Hereford; but abandoned this enterprize in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven published an apology for his miscarriage, in which he complained that his men were not paid by the parliament; that the two houses

Operations of the Scottish army in England.

N^o 67.

X

had

A. C. 1645. had not performed their promise, of supplying him with artillery, and other implements of siege; and that he had been obliged to detach David Lesley with the greater part of his horse and dragoons, to oppose the earl of Montrose in Scotland. They retreated to Yorkshire, where they received a supply of thirty thousand pounds, and the two houses ordained that the eastern associated counties should furnish them with fourteen hundred pounds sterling a week, on condition that they would undertake the siege of Newark, which they accordingly invested in the month of October.

During these transactions, the unfortunate king underwent a surprising series of dangers, mortifications, and distresses, which he bore with uncommon fortitude and dignity. Far from being overwhelmed with despair, in consequence of his defeat at Naseby, he no sooner understood that Fairfax had marched into the western counties, than he advanced from Wales, at the head of his cavalry, amounting to three thousand men, reduced the town of Huntington, visited Oxford, where he received a small reinforcement, and then took post at Cambrden, at the time when Bristol and Hereford were invested. The Scots raising the siege of this last place, he entered it with his little army, and there remained till the twentieth day of September. He was now reduced to such a melancholy situation, that he saw no other prospect of retrieving his affairs, than that of joining Montrose in Scotland; and this expedient he actually embraced. Hearing that a strong body of horse and dragoons belonging to the enemy, was posted, under the command of Pointz, between Hereford and Worcester, he resolved to take his route through North-Wales to Chester, and from thence pass through Lancashire and Cumberland to Scotland. He found the enemy in possession of the
outworks

outworks and suburbs of Chester, which they had surprised. He detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall upon the back of the besiegers early next morning, while he himself entered the city. Pointz, who had followed the king by hasty marches, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke, who compelled him to retire to a greater distance. The besiegers no sooner perceived him, than they began to evacuate the suburbs, in order to join his troops; and thus reinforced, he attacked the royalists in his turn. They were overpowered by numbers, and pursued to the walls of Chester. Then the earl of Litchfield and the lord Gerard, with the king's guards, and the rest of the cavalry, advanced to the charge, and Pointz was obliged to retire: but his musqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, made such a fire upon the royalists, that they were broken, routed, and dispersed, after the gallant earl of Litchfield, and many other gentlemen of reputation, had lost their lives in the engagement.

The king's
horse routed
at Chester.

The king retreated with five hundred horse to Denbigh-castle in North-Wales, and Pointz hung upon his rear. Being joined by prince Maurice with eight hundred horse, and some other reinforcements, he crossed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where, receiving intelligence that Berkley-castle and the Devizes had surrendered to the parliamentarians, he, by the advice of his council, set out for Newark in Nottinghamshire, where he had a garrison of two thousand horse and foot. Though he had already been chagrined with an account of Montrose's total defeat by David Lesley, who suddenly fell upon him before he had proper notice of his approach; it was now confidently re-

A. C. 1645. ported, that the earl, strengthened by a reinforcement, had attacked and worsted Lesley in his turn, and marched towards the border with a strong army. This false intelligence gained such credit with the king, that he advanced northwards as far as Rotheram, where he was undeceived. There he was certainly informed that Montrose had retreated with his broken forces towards the Highlands; that David Lesley was master of all Lothian; and that the Scottish army lay between Northallerton and Newcastle. Inexpressible was the sorrow and anxiety that this intelligence produced in the bosom of the king, who forthwith resolved to return; but, in the mean time, he constituted lord Digby lieutenant-general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, on the other side of Trent; and ordered him and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to proceed with fifteen hundred horse for Scotland, to join Montrose. This new general began his expedition without delay. He dispersed a thousand foot, raised for the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaster; and at Sherbourne attacked colonel Copley, who commanded a body of cavalry. Digby was routed, and fled to Skipton, while his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; and, among other things, a cabinet of papers, which were published by order of the two houses. Notwithstanding the check he had received, he proceeded through Westmoreland and Cumberland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland: but receiving no intelligence of Montrose, and finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the covenanters, he embarked with Sir Marmaduke, and the Scottish earls of Carnwath and Niddesdale, for the isle of Man, from whence they were transported to Ireland.

He makes
an effort to
join Mont-
rose.

His

His majesty returning to Newark, prince Rupert appeared in his presence, desiring he might have an opportunity to justify his conduct. The king, who ever loved him with the most tender affection, complied with his request; admitted of his apology; and, by a declaration, absolved him of all suspicion of disloyalty. The well-affected gentlemen of that country being dissatisfied with the conduct of Sir Richard Willis governor of Newark, the king, who was determined upon removing to Oxford, told him he would appoint him captain of his horse-guards; so that he should always be in attendance upon his person; and that he would confer the government of Newark upon lord Bellasis. Sir Richard was extremely mortified at this intimation, and retired to consult with his friends. While his majesty sat at dinner, he entered the apartment, accompanied by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, lord Gerard, and about twenty officers of the garrison. He said his disgrace was now the public talk of the town. Prince Rupert affirmed, that Sir Richard Willis was no otherwise faulty than in being his friend. Lord Gerard exclaimed it was a plot of lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The king, equally surprised and incensed at their intrusion, rose from the table in disorder, desiring Sir Richard Willis would follow him into his bed-chamber. He replied, that he had received a public injury, and expected a public satisfaction. The king could no longer contain his indignation. He assumed such an air of resentment and authority as he had never manifested before, and commanded them to be gone from his presence, with such dignity of displeasure as overwhelmed them with confusion and dismay. They had no sooner quitted the apartment, than he was visited by the lords and gentlemen in the town, who

Is insulted
by his officers at
Newark.

A. C. 1645. comforted him with the most dutiful expressions, and professed a very tender sense of the insolent usage he had sustained. Lord Bellasis was immediately declared governor of the place, and began to perform the functions of his office. In the afternoon, the king received a petition, signed by the two princes and their adherents, desiring that Sir Richard Willis might be tried by a court-martial; or, should this be denied, that they and their friends might be furnished with passes. These were immediately expedited; they next day retired to Wyverton, and then to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the parliament, for leave to quit the kingdom; yet they were afterwards pardoned and taken into favour.

Clarendon.

Retreats to
Oxford.

Nothing could be more forlorn and desolate than the condition of Charles at this juncture. His faithful counsellors, and trusty friends, had either fallen in his cause, or been obliged to exile themselves from their country. His consort, the tender partner of his heart, had been obliged to fly for refuge to a foreign land. His eldest son now roamed a wretched fugitive among the barren rocks of Scilly; and the rest of his children ran the risque of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies. His armies were either slaughtered or dispersed; he was abandoned by his ungrateful nephews, whom he had always cherished with parental affection; and now he found himself so encompassed by his adversaries, under Pointz and Rossiter, that it seemed impossible to escape, without the interposition of a miracle. In the midst of these dangers, he still preserved an unclouded judgment, and unshaken equanimity. He sent a messenger to the governor of Oxford, with orders that the horse of the garrison should be between Banbury and Daventry, at an appointed time. He departed from Newark on the third day of November,

ember, at eleven o'clock at night, attended by five hundred horse. At three in the morning they reached Belvoir-castle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guides to conduct him farther on his way. In passing near Burleigh, where the parliament had a garrison, he was molested by their horse, who killed and took some stragglers. Towards evening he was so fatigued, that he found it absolutely necessary to take some repose in a village near Northampton. At ten o'clock he continued his march, passed Daven-try before day, reached Banbury about noon; and there he found the horse, by whom he was safely conducted to Oxford, after having undergone such a vicissitude of misfortune, danger, and fatigue, as must have broken the spirit of any prince not endued with a very uncommon share of mag-nanimity.

Clarendon.

He had now leisure to deliberate upon the means of his own preservation; but no plausible scheme occurred to his imagination. In this emer-gency he had again recourse to the method of ne-gotiation. He entertained some faint hopes of profiting by the dissensions between the presbyte-rians and independents; and indeed he built too much on this misunderstanding. He demanded of the two houses a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and some others, whom he intended to send with proposals for an accommodation. Receiving no answer, he renewed his demand. In a third message, he of-fered to treat with them in person, provided the parliament, the Scottish commissioners, the mayor of London, and the generals of their armies, would engage that he should safely reside among them for forty days, and return unmolested to Ox-ford, Worcester, or Newark, in case the negotia-tion should prove ineffectual: and, for their en-

Proposes a treaty to the two houses.

A. C. 1645. couragement to treat, he declared himself ready to settle the militia in the hands of such persons as they should recommend or approve for that purpose. The houses, in answer to his first message, refused a safe-conduct for his commissioners; but promised to draw out propositions and bills, which should be presented to his majesty. To his proposal of a personal treaty they made no answer. He complained of their silence in repeated messages. He offered liberty of conscience to non-conformists. He proposed, upon the dismissal of the armies, to join the two houses, to take measures for the payment of public debts, and for settling the affairs of the militia and of Ireland, to the satisfaction of all parties. The houses rejected his proposal, and upbraided him with having shed the blood of his subjects. He refused their aspersions, insisted upon the personal treaty, and made other concessions, which plainly indicated his sincere desire of peace. Considering his deplorable situation, they could not doubt his sincerity: but nothing was farther from their thoughts than an accommodation with their sovereign. Their leaders were determined upon a dissolution of monarchy. They had reduced their king to extremity, and now they thought it was their turn to impose conditions. They taxed him with a design to make peace with the rebels in Ireland, and employ their troops against his parliament. If he had actually practised this expedient for his own preservation, he would have been acquitted by all the unprejudiced part of the world. Persecuted and hunted down by his own rebellious subjects, he had a natural right, after more pacific means had proved ineffectual, to call in an army of foreigners to his assistance, how much soever they might have differed from him in articles of faith. This has been the practice of all nations. How much

His proposal
rejected.

much more justifiable was he then, in securing the aid of his own subjects, even-tho' he gratified them for this service with that liberty of conscience which every human being has a right to enjoy? But Charles absolutely denied the imputation of having impowered the earl of Glamorgan to conclude a treaty with the Irish rebels. He owned, indeed, he had commissioned that nobleman to raise and bring a body of Irish troops into England: nor did he deny that the marquis of Ormond had powers to finish by treaty a war which the parliament had neglected to maintain; as the protestants of Ireland were threatened with utter extirpation. Glamorgan exceeded his powers; and actually concluded a treaty in the king's name; but this was no sooner known, than the earl was arrested and imprisoned by the marquis of Ormond: and the king disowned the transaction. Rushworth.

Such was the melancholy situation of Charles, when the court of France sent over Montreuil, on pretence of mediating a peace between the king and the parliament, tho' his real intention was to effect a separate accommodation between his majesty and the Scottish army. His queen dispatched Mr. Davenant at the same time, to persuade him to declare for the presbyterian party, which was espoused by the city of London, in opposition to the independents. Montreuil found the Scottish commissioners at London very well disposed to treat with his majesty; but they insisted upon the abolition of episcopacy, as an indispensable preliminary, with which the king, from conscientious motives, constantly refused to comply. While the French minister made a journey to the Scottish army before Newark, in hope of finding some temperment, Fairfax advanced with his army towards Oxford; so that the king was in the most imminent danger of being surrounded. He had ordered

A. C. 1645. ordered the lord Astley to draw from the few gar-
 risons still in his possession, such a body of troops
 as might take the field early in the spring. He
 accordingly assembled about two thousand, with
 which he advanced towards Oxford; but the par-
 liamentarians, apprised of his design, fell upon
 him in his march, when his troops were fainting
 with fatigue. After a very obstinate dispute, his
 forces were defeated and dispersed, and he himself
 taken prisoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas,
 and many other officers.

The king
 repairs to
 the Scottish
 army.

This was the last effort which the king made to
 defend himself by force of arms. He now saw no
 other possibility of escaping the rancour of his ad-
 versaries, than that of throwing himself into the
 arms of the Scots, who, he hoped, would, from
 resentment to the independent party, which they
 hated, and affection to their native prince, be pre-
 vailed upon to espouse his cause, or at least protect
 his person from the rage of his enemies. Such pro-
 tection their chiefs had severally promised, in con-
 ferences with Montreuil, though they refused to
 sign any treaty or convention for that purpose; and
 this French agent advised the king to depend upon
 their sincerity. Charles was beset in such a man-
 ner, that he had no time to hesitate; and he
 thought this was the least desperate course he could
 follow. Had any other resource remained, he
 would hardly have thrown himself, without any
 other assurance, upon the mercy of those who were
 his declared enemies, and acted as auxiliaries to
 the parliament of England. Early in the morning
 of the twenty-seventh day of April, he quitted
 Oxford in disguise, attended by John Ashburn-
 ham, and one Hudson an ecclesiastic, who under-
 took to conduct him through bye-ways that were
 little frequented. He spent several days in travel-
 ling from one gentleman's house to another, where

he was not unknown, though no notice was taken of his person. He passed through St. Alban's, and even came within a few miles of London, as if he had intended to present himself before the parliament; then he took the road to the Scottish camp at Newark. His escape from Oxford was no sooner known in London, than the two houses issued an order, denouncing the pains of high-treason against those who should shelter or protect their sovereign. When he discovered himself to the earl of Leven, that general seemed exceedingly surprised and confounded at his presence: nevertheless, he received him with all the marks of respect and veneration.

An express was immediately dispatched with an account of this important incident to the two houses; in which it was immediately resolved, that Fairfax, who had invested Oxford, should relinquish that enterprise, and march directly to Newark: but this resolution was postponed, when the Scottish commissioners declared that the king's coming was altogether unexpected by their generals, who would punctually obey the orders of the parliament. The Scots prevailed upon the king to order Bellasis governor of Newark to surrender the place, which was accordingly delivered up; and hearing that Fairfax had made a motion towards the North, they forthwith retired with his majesty to Newcastle. There he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil, and Ashburnham was obliged to leave the kingdom, otherwise he would have been delivered up to the parliament. The * Scottish preachers insulted him

They march to Newcastle.

* One of their preachers upbraided him with his misgovernment, and ordered this psalm to be sung by the congregation:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?

The king, standing up, called for the

psalm beginning with these words:

Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.

The audience accordingly sang this psalm in compassion to his majesty in distress.

Whitelock.

to

A. C. 1646. to his face from the pulpit; and the officers treated him with unremitting reserve and the most distant respect. They advised him to surrender all his garrisons to the parliament; and he complied with a good grace. Ormond received his order to deliver Dublin and other forts in Ireland to the officers appointed by the two houses; and Montrose, being commanded by his master to lay down his arms in Scotland, retired to the continent.

The two
houses send
propositions
to the king.

The king sent a message to the two houses, desiring they would finish the affair of religion according to the advice of able theologists. He consented to their appointing commissioners for the militia, during seven years: he offered to concur with them in settling the affairs of Ireland; to dismiss his troops, and surrender the places that were still in his possession. He wrote to the city of London, that he was disposed to satisfy the two houses in every particular. He afterwards pressed the parliament to send propositions; and asked leave to come and treat with them in person. The Scots published a declaration, protesting that they would adhere to the covenant; and that they abhorred all secret practices tending to produce a misunderstanding between the two kingdoms. They presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to labour effectually in the great work of peace, to subscribe the covenant, regulate religion in conformity with the practice of the best protestant churches, and conduct himself according to the advice of his parliament. The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the ecclesiastical assembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenour of the covenant. The house of commons voted that there was no farther occasion for the Scottish army; and that the commissioners of that
king.

kingdom should be required to withdraw their forces from England. Then they sent proposals of peace to the king, more severe than those upon which they had insisted at Uxbridge. They now arrogated to themselves the whole power of the administration; and their deputies gave the king to understand, that they could not stay longer than ten days at Newcastle. He answered that, though he could not strip himself of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would consent to all just and reasonable demands for the good of the commonwealth, without paying any regard to his own particular interest. The earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, exhorted him to comply with the proposals, deriving his arguments from the necessity of his majesty's affairs; but in the article of episcopacy, the king was immovable.

The deputies of Scotland presented a memorial to the upper house, offering to withdraw their army from England, upon payment of their arrears. Commissioners were immediately appointed to examine their accounts. After various disputes they agreed to take four hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all their demands: and this is said to have been the price for which they sold their king to his enemies. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the two houses was a private stipulation in the treaty, is scarce to be questioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, will admit of some doubt. Had they acted otherwise they must have deviated from all their former maxims, and engaged in a dangerous war against their own confederates, in behalf of a prince whom they had always considered as their implacable enemy. In protecting their king they must have betrayed their cause, proved false to their trust, and ruined the work which they had raised with such labour. Their aversion to the king

A. C. 1646. king was inspired by the suggestions of resentment, interest, and fanaticism; these are motives hardly to be resisted. Had they given way to the dictates of generosity and compassion, they would have gloriously atoned for the mischiefs they had occasioned: though ruined in the contest with the king's adversaries, they would have nobly fallen, and their memory would have escaped that reproach by which it is now stigmatized. In the beginning of September, the duke of Hamilton had been removed to St. Michael's mount in Cornwall, and when it surrendered to the parliamentarians, he was released. He now repaired from London to Newcastle with the Scottish commissioners, and importuned the king to close with the propositions of the two houses. His majesty said, all he desired was a hearing, and that was denied. He did not absolutely reject the proposals, but wished for an opportunity to explain his sentiments. He proposed that the hierarchy should be confined to some particular dioceses, such as Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Bath, and Exeter; and that the presbyterian discipline should be established in all other parts of the kingdom: he hoped the clergy would not press him to act against his conscience until he should be better informed.

He makes
divers con-
cessions in
the article
of religion.

The Scot-
tish commis-
sioners
claim an
equal inter-
est with the
English in
the person
of the king.

On the eighteenth day of September the two houses appointed a committee to confer with the Scottish commissioners about disposing of the king's person. The earl of Loudon alledged, that, each kingdom had an equal right to this disposal, as he was equally sovereign of both kingdoms; and as the interest of both nations was united by the covenant. The English committee replied, that they had the sole right to dispose of his person, because he was then in England, and the Scottish army acted as auxiliaries to that nation. This point was debated in several conferences; and the Scots
printed

printed a relation of what they had advanced to prove that Scotland and England were equally interested in the person of the king, and had an equal title to dispose of him and his affairs. The commons ordered the copies of this relation to be seized, and the printer was imprisoned. Then they published a long answer, which they sent to the Scottish commissioners, who refused to receive it, on pretence that it was not offered in the name of either house of parliament. On the sixteenth day of December, the parliament of Scotland resolved that their commissioners at London should demand of the two houses, in their name, that the king might return to London with honour and safety; and, at the same time, declare that the Scottish parliament was resolved to maintain the monarchy, in the person of the king, together with his just rights to the crown of England. Next day, however, a remonstrance was presented to them by the commissioners of the general assembly, representing the enormous sin of taking any step tending to produce a rupture between the two nations; and proposing that new efforts should be made for persuading the king to satisfy his subjects, that he might return to his parliament of England as a prince reconciled with his people.

After obstinate debates they resolved, that the king should be required to comply with the propositions which the houses at Westminster had sent to Newcastle; otherwise they would join their brethren in providing for the security of both kingdoms. The king sent another message to Westminster, soliciting leave to come and treat with them in person, declaring that his intention was to grant every thing that should be deemed necessary for the welfare of his people: he begged they would consider it was their king who craved an hearing; and that he himself would be looked upon

The Scots deliver the king to the English commissioners.

A. C. 1646. upon as a tyrant, should he refuse that favour to the meanest of his subjects. The two houses voted, that his majesty should reside at his house of Holmby, in the county of Northampton, and be treated with all due deference and respect: then they appointed commissioners to receive him from the hands of the Scots. The parliament of Scotland sent up a declaration, consenting to his residing at Holmby, or in any other of his houses near London, provided no violence should be offered to his person; that no new change should be made in the government; and that his posterity should suffer no prejudice in their succession to the throne of England. On the thirtieth day of January, the king was delivered by the Scots to the commissioners of the English parliament; and that very day the Scottish army began its march for their own country. The king bore his fate with his usual fortitude. In his journey to Holmby he found the roads crouded with multitudes of people, who came from all quarters to behold his deplorable reverse of fortune. They expressed their pity and affection in tears, lamentations, and fervent prayers for his safety: and such an opinion of his sanctity then prevailed, that he was earnestly solicited to touch a great number of persons afflicted with the king's-evil.

Rushworth.

Is conveyed
to Holm-
by-castle.

Hitherto the presbyterians and independents had acted in concert against their sovereign: but now their mutual animosity began to appear. Oliver Cromwell, who possessed indefatigable resolution, unbounded ambition, and impenetrable dissimulation, influenced the whole conduct of the independents. He gained a surprising ascendancy over the spirit of general Fairfax, and filled the army with officers devoted to his interest; such as Rainborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harrison. The majority of the members in parliament were presbyterians, supported by the city of London: they

they dreaded the general officers, and wanted to disband the army. As it was necessary to send forces into Ireland, they formed a plan of enlisting private men for the service, and transporting them to that kingdom under new officers in whom they could confide. Cromwell, knowing their design, opposed it with all his power; and found this task the more easy, as the earl of Essex died in the preceding year. He seemed to approve the scheme of the commons; feigned himself a rigid presbyterian, talked in the language of scripture, and persuaded Fairfax that he had nothing in view but the glory of God, and the establishment of the true religion. At the same time he set his emissaries at work to excite a spirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been so long accustomed to military licence, that they could not bear the prospect of returning to their former occupations.

Rupture between the parliament and the army.

The commons understood they had prepared a petition to their general, for the perusal of the house, demanding an act of indemnity, the payment of their arrears, and an exemption from serving in Ireland against their own consent. Two colonels, and two lieutenant-colonels, being examined at the bar of the house, touching the nature of the petition, were commanded to suppress it and all other such addresses as might be drawn up for the future. At the same time the general was directed to give orders that a declaration should be read at the head of each regiment, importing that the petition tended to excite discontents in the army; to impede the reduction of Ireland; and that the house would proceed against the authors of it as perturbators of the public peace. This expedient served only to inflame the resentment of the soldiers, who loudly complained, that after they had shed their blood in defence of the liberties of the nation, they were now, by the most insupportable

The soldiers refuse to serve under the officers appointed by the parliament.

A. C. 1647. tyranny, debarred the privilege of presenting a petition to their general : a right to which they were certainly intitled as free-born subjects of England. When the commissioners, appointed by the parliament, repaired to the army, and caused the votes to be read aloud for new-modelling the regiments, colonel Lambert, in the name of all the officers, demanded the act of indemnity, the payment of arrears, security for their subsistence while in Ireland, and the names of the generals under whom they should serve in that kingdom. They exclaimed aloud, they were ready to march under Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon : some of the general officers presented a declaration to the parliament, justifying their former petition, and insisting upon the same articles.

The commons voted that the army should be disbanded, and the soldiers receive six weeks pay at their dismissal. Then Skippon produced a petition from several regiments, specifying their reasons for not serving in Ireland, and complaining of the ill treatment they had received from the parliament. The commons, alarmed at these marks of discontent, passed divers votes for giving satisfaction to the army ; and ordered Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to signify their favourable intentions to the soldiery. It was on this occasion, that the common soldiers elected agitators or deputies to discuss their affairs, and communicate their resolutions to a council composed of generals, field-officers, and captains. These were the instruments by which Cromwell and his associates managed the whole military machine. They were chosen from the private soldiers, or the lowest class of officers, for their reputed knowledge, and their spiritual gift of preaching and prayer. The two houses still persisting in their resolution to disband all the troops, except those destined for Ireland, ordained,

They choose
agitators.

dained, that security should be given to the troops ^{A. C. 1647a} for their arrears : That the soldiers should not be compelled to serve in Ireland : and, That provision should be made for the widows and orphans of those maimed in the service. Then they regulated the manner in which the regiments were to be disbanded at different times and places.

When the general, in a council of war, produced the votes of the commons, the officers said they did not believe the soldiers would be satisfied, because they would neither receive their full pay, nor security for their arrears; and, without an act of amnesty, they might be prosecuted at law after their dismissal. The soldiers themselves, in a petition to the general, complained of these hardships, and desired that the army should be assembled in one place, where they might consider of means to redress their grievances before they should be disbanded; otherwise they should be obliged to take such measures as might be prevented by a compliance with their demands. The general, with the advice of the council of war, immediately contracted his quarters; and, in a letter to the two houses, begged they would concert measures for appeasing the army, and preventing a very dangerous rupture. The parliament, intimidated by this intelligence, resolved, if possible, to divide the forces. They offered a month's pay to those who should quit their regiments, and engage in the Irish expedition. For the satisfaction of the army, they voted, that the subaltern officers and soldiers should receive the whole of their arrears, and a month's pay over and above : That the declaration of the two houses against their petition, should be erased from the journal; and that an act of indemnity should be passed in their favour. But all these concessions could not satisfy the army. The directors of it were resolved, that it should not be dis-

The two houses make concessions to the army.

A. C. 1647. banded, but kept up as a balance to the presbyterian interest. It was, by this time, converted into a kind of republic, in which the vote of a common soldier was equivalent to that of his colonel; and every separate brigade thought they had a right to take resolutions, which were executed in the name of the army; so that very little discipline or subordination remained.

The troops
seize the
king's per-
son.

A few regiments of horse resolved to make themselves masters of the king's person. For the execution of this design they pitched upon cornet Joyce, who had been a taylor before the war. On the third day of June, this officer arrived with a detachment of fifty horse at Holmby, about break of day; and going up stairs, attended with three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment. The door being opened, at his majesty's desire, Joyce and his companions, approaching him with their hats off, and pistols in their hands, told him he must go to the army. When the king asked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet answered, "By this;" pointing to his pistol, and desiring his majesty would put on his clothes, as dispatch was absolutely necessary. The king ordered one of his attendants to call the committee of the two houses, who had taken charge of his person. They were not a little surprised at the arrival of Joyce, and asked if he acted by order of the parliament: he answered in the negative, and held up his pistol. They said they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure: he replied, they might do so, but the king must go along with him immediately. Colonel Brown, having founded the guard which the parliament had set over the king, found them averse to any resistance; so that his majesty, having broken his fast, went into his coach, attended by a few domestics, and resigned himself to the will of Joyce, not without suspicion that

that he should be carried to some unfrequented place, and murdered. He had, however, dispatched the Scottish earl of Dumfermling with a letter to the two houses, giving an account of this adventure; and desiring they would not give credit to any thing he should write under confinement. He lay the first night at the house of colonel Montague near Cambridge, and next day arrived at Newmarket; where he was treated with great respect by the officers of the army. The regiments, being assembled at this place, presented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament; and next day subscribed a writing, which they termed "The engagement," consenting to be disbanded, on condition that their grievances should be redressed, according to the determination of a council composed of the generals, together with two officers, and as many soldiers of every regiment: but declaring they would not separate until they should have received this satisfaction. On the seventh day of June, the general informed the two houses of the king's being removed from Holmby by the soldiers, who had received no order from their officers for that purpose. He said, he had sent colonel Whaley with a detachment to meet the king, and reconduct him to Holmby; but that his majesty had refused to return. He assured him, that neither he, nor any of his officers, had any share in removing the king: that the sole aim of the army was to establish a firm and lasting peace: that they had no intention to oppose the presbyterian discipline, and set up independency: but they would leave every thing to the prudence of parliament, without pretending to espouse any particular party.

The commons, in order to vindicate themselves from the imputation of acting from interested motives, confirmed the self-denying ordinance; vacated all employments possessed by members of

The tyranny of the parliament.

A. C. 1647. parliament; deprived all members of that personal privilege by which they had been screened from their creditors; declared that all informations against members should be heard on an appointed day; and, that no member should be indemnified for his particular losses, until the public debts should be discharged. Notwithstanding these votes, the army advanced to St. Alban's, within twenty miles of London; and the general sent a message to the houses, intreating them to take some speedy measures for the satisfaction of the soldiery. Nothing could be more agreeable to the people in general, than this commencement of hostility against the parliament, which had exercised the most despotic tyranny over the nation. Those clamorous demagogues, who had unsheathed the sword against their sovereign, on pretence of screening the subject from oppression, were now the authors of the most intolerable extortion. They had by the most arbitrary exaction levied above thirty millions in five years; and still the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They are said to have divided three hundred thousand pounds among their own members. Great sums were secreted by their committees appointed to manage the different branches of the revenue. The exchequer was now abolished, that those managers might plunder the public without controul. An excise was extended over butchers meat, and all the common necessaries of life. One half of the lands and rents of the kingdom, belonging to the royalists, were sequestered. Great numbers of these unhappy sufferers were denied all redress. The rest could obtain no remedy but that of paying exorbitant compositions, and subscribing the covenant; so that many antient and honourable families were entirely ruined by those upstart plebeians. More than one half of the clergy were deprived of their livings, and reduced

to beggary, because they would not renounce their civil and religious principles. The country committees continued to fine, imprison, and corporally punish those they stiled malignants, without law, justice, or restraint; in causes of private property, they took vengeance upon those who favoured their sovereign; and sold their protection to the best bidder. They said they were authorized to spoil the Egyptians: they termed their oppressive conduct, the dominion of the elect: they pretended to seek the Lord in prayer, and cloaked their iniquity with all the grimace of affected holiness.

Hume.

At the motion of the army, the parliament was overwhelmed with consternation. They forthwith passed an ordinance, empowering the city of London to raise some cavalry, as if they intended to put themselves in a posture of defence. The general and the rest of the officers wrote a letter to the mayor, complaining that certain members of parliament were desirous of involving the nation in a new war, that they themselves might escape the punishment they had so richly deserved. They protested they had no design to intermeddle in affairs of government, or to injure the presbyterians, and the city of London, unless they should attempt to protect those incendiaries; they declared themselves ready to withdraw to a greater distance, upon proper assurance that the government would be settled in an equitable manner; but should the city take arms against the army, it would run the risque of bringing abundance of mischief on its own head. This letter being communicated to the parliament, they sent an order to the general, that he should not come within five and twenty miles of London. They ordered ten thousand pounds to be paid to the soldiers who should quit the army, and engage in the Irish expedition. Next day, being alarmed

They arm
the trained-
bands of
London.

Y 4

with

A. C. 1647. with a false report that the army approached London, they ordered the trained-bands to arms, on pain of death; but they soon recalled this order, though they continued to enlist soldiers. The city sent a soothing answer to the general's letter; and the parliament dispatched commissioners to the army to know their demands.

The army, conscious of its own strength, presented a remonstrance to the two houses, demanding, That the parliament should be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members: That those who had openly opposed the army, should be expelled, and rendered incapable of sitting as judges upon soldiers, even after the army should be disbanded: That some period should be fixed to this parliament: and, That for the future, parliaments should continue only for a certain time: That they should neither be dissolved nor adjourned, but with their own consent: That the subject should be confirmed in the right of presenting petitions: That the power of committees and lieutenants of counties shall be regulated and reduced to proper bounds: That the public accounts should be equitably settled: and, That after some acts of justice upon delinquents, an act of amnesty should be passed. The next bold step which they took, was to impeach eleven members of parliament, who were indeed the chiefs of the presbyterian party. They sent a deputation of officers to Westminster, to accuse Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. These members were charged with having obstructed the course of justice: with having raised suspicion against the officers, and endeavoured to sow sedition between the parliament and the army: with having formed a design to disband the army, to seduce the troops, and engage the officers in their mischievous machinations. Next day

Eleven
members
impeached
by the
army.

day they presented a memorial to the commons, de- A. C. 1647.
siring, that the accused members should be ordered
to withdraw: That the army should receive a
month's pay, and the same advantages granted to
those who enlisted for the service of Ireland: and
That, until the differences between the parliament
and the army could be compromised, no levies
should be carried on in London or elsewhere.

The army in these demands was countenanced
by the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Here-
ford, and Buckingham. Glamorganshire sent de-
puties on purpose to complain, that the people were
oppressed by the committees which the parliament
had established in the different counties. The two
houses were fain to comply with all the demands of
the army; which being determined against accom-
modation, produced a new remonstrance, threaten-
ing to employ extraordinary means, unless they
should receive immediate satisfaction with respect
to the following articles: That the declaration in-
viting officers and soldiers to quit the army, should
be revoked and annulled: That the king should
remain with the army: That the accused members
should be expelled: That the officers and soldiers
who had abandoned the army, should be disbanded
and dispersed: That the reduced officers should
quit London: That levies should cease; and the
parliament put an end to the difference subsisting
between them and the army. After this remon-
strance was delivered, the troops advanced as far
as Uxbridge; and the king's friends began to hope
that a rupture between the parliament and the army
would redound to his majesty's advantage. The
king himself was of that opinion. He was treated
with all imaginable deference by the troops, among
whom he found himself very much at his ease;
and Cromwell, with his confederates, assured him
they would restore him to his former dignity. The

The two
houses o-
bliged to
comply with
the demands
of the
troops.

two

A. C. 1647. two houses were so startled at this prospect, that they resolved to gratify the army with every sort of concession. The accused members desired leave to absent themselves from the house, and every other step was taken for their satisfaction: so that, at length, the army seemed satisfied; and the headquarters were fixed at Wickham.

The presbyterians form an engagement against the army.

The presbyterians were disgusted at this tame condescension of the parliament in favour of the independents. They engaged in an association with the magistrates of London, to oppose force with force. They sent private agents into Scotland to solicit assistance. The common-council presented a petition to the two houses, complaining of the arbitrary power exercised by the committees; demanding they would take proper measures to repress the insolence of the army, settle the government, re-establish the king in the possession of his just rights, according to the covenant, prosecute the war in Ireland with vigour, punish delinquents, and pass an act of amnesty. Petitions were likewise delivered by the apprentices and populace, desiring that the presbyterian discipline might be established on a sure footing; that the insolence of sectaries might be repressed; and the army payed off and disbanded. These commotions were countenanced by the accused members, and many others of that house, who would have risked a rupture with the army; but they were over-ruled by the caution of the majority. The army being informed of the transactions in London, and the message sent to Scotland, demanded, in another petition, that the parliament should publish a declaration, prohibiting foreign troops to enter the kingdom; that the forces should be regularly paid; and the militia of London settled on its antient footing. The houses immediately complied with their request. The rigid presbyterians, incensed at this servile complaisance,

Rushworth.

plaisance, joined with the common-council of London and a good number of members of parliament, in forming an engagement, by which they bound themselves to assist one another in opposing the army, on the supposition that its intention was to overthrow every measure which had hitherto been taken towards establishing the peace of the kingdom. They engaged to employ their lives and fortunes in defending the king's authority and person, the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people. The two houses published, by sound of trumpet, a prohibition to sign this engagement. Nevertheless, the presbyterians in London held assemblies, and enlisted soldiers: the common-council received two petitions from the burghers and apprentices, desiring that the militia might be regulated according to the ordinance of the fourth day of May, which had been lately abolished by the two houses. In consequence of these remonstrances, the common-council petitioned the parliament, that the last might be revoked, and the other confirmed. By the ordinance of May, the city of London had entrusted the militia to a new committee, composed of presbyterians; but this ordinance they afterwards recalled at the desire of the army.

On the twenty-sixth day of July, a great multitude of the populace assembled at Westminster, with a petition, demanding, that the new ordinance touching the militia should be revoked; that the declaration against the engagement should be annulled; and an order immediately issued to recal the absent members, particularly the eleven who had been accused. These commotions were influenced by Sir William Waller, Pointz, and Maffey, who had been removed from their employments by the new model, and now resided in London. While the parliament deliberated upon those demands, the populace were very clamorous

Tumults at
Westminster.

A. C. 1647. in the halls adjoining to the two houses. They knocked at the doors of the upper house, broke the windows with stones, and committed such outrages as terrified the members into a compliance with their demands. They voted, That the last ordinance touching the militia, should be annulled; and adjourned till next day: but the multitude compelled the speaker and the members to resume their places, and ordain, that the king should return to London. The general sent a letter to the common-council, expressing great affection for the city of London, and complaining of the violence which had been offered to the parliament. They returned a civil answer, excusing what had been done, and desiring he would not approach nearer to the city: but being informed that the army was on its march towards London, they ordered the militia to guard the lines; and all the inhabitants able to carry arms, to repair to the quarters assigned.

The speakers of the two houses retire to the army.

The parliament meeting after a short adjournment, found that the speakers of the two houses, with a good number of members, had quitted London. They forthwith substituted other speakers, and were not sorry that the friends to the army had withdrawn themselves. They voted, That the king should return to London: That the committee of the London militia should be authorised to raise troops for the defence of the city, as well as to chuse a general acceptable to the parliament; and that he should appoint the officers, with the approbation of the committee. The choice fell upon major-general Massey; and a day was appointed for delivering commissions, and disposing the troops into regiments. The common-council received another menacing letter from the general; and, in their turn, published an apology, which was no other than a recrimination upon the army, for its insolence and arbitrary proceedings. The parliament understanding

understanding that the general approached London, on pretence of protecting them from violence, sent a letter to assure him they needed no protection; and as his march to London would be productive of mischief, they expressly ordered him to withdraw his troops to a greater distance. They recalled the absent and accused members; while Massey, Waller, and Pointz were employed in forming their regiments and companies. The two speakers, and the other members who had absented themselves, to the number of sixty-six, demanded the protection of the general, alledging that they had been obliged to quit the houses for fear of being torn to pieces by the populace. The army was glad of this pretext for marching to London, in order to restore the members, to whom they had paid the respect that was due to the parliament; and continued their route for Hounslow-heath, which was the place of rendezvous. The earl of Manchester and Lenthal, speakers of the two houses, together with the other members who had retired to the army, were presbyterians in their hearts; but they foresaw the army would at length prevail, and they took this method to save themselves from destruction.

The army now published a manifesto, acquitting themselves of the imputations laid to their charge, recapitulating the arbitrary measures of the presbyterian faction; declaring they would support the two speakers, who had fled to their protection, and punish the authors of these disorders. The courage of the citizens vanished, when they understood that the army had advanced to Hounslow. The common-council wrote a letter to the general, importing, That, as it appeared from his declaration, he had no other design than to do justice to the absent members, the city was ready to concur with him; that they had ordered all the avenues to be opened, and

Fairfax arrives at London.

A. C. 1647. and put an end to their preparations of defence. On the sixth day of August, Fairfax, accompanied by the speakers, and the members who had absent-ed themselves, arrived in Westminster with an es-corte of dragoons; and the members forthwith re-sumed their places in parliament. The two houses immediately concurred in voting, that the general should be constituted governor of the Tower. They appointed a day of thanksgiving for the re-esta-blishment of the parliament, without bloodshed, and they ordained that the army should receive a month's pay as a gratuity. The lords proposed that all the transactions of parliament, from the twenty-sixth day of July to the sixth of August, should be annulled: and that the members who had sat at Westminster during the absence of the two speakers, should be excluded from their seats in parliament, and punished for their presumption. The army had, in a remonstrance, made the same demands, but after violent debates in the lower house, they were rejected by a very small majority. Neverthe-less, seven peers, the mayor and aldermen of Lon-don, together with some officers of militia, were
Rushworth. accused of treason, for having been concerned in tumults, and endeavouring to excite a new war. The two houses resolved, with the concurrence of the army, to send six thousand foot soldiers, four thousand horse, and five hundred dragoons, to Ireland; to maintain six and twenty thousand men in England, and disband the rest of the forces. But these resolutions were executed slowly, and each side endeavoured to amuse the other. Tho' the army had at first pretended to nothing but the care of their own concerns, they now pro-fessed to settle the commonwealth; and before their march towards London, presented to the com-missioners of the parliament, a set of proposals seemingly for this purpose, though they were cal-culated

culated for retarding the settlement, which the authors of them professed to forward and promote. A.C. 1647.

The king still continued in the neighbourhood of the army, by which he was treated with the most flattering marks of distinction. His chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate service according to the forms of the English church. He was permitted to converse with his old servants, Sir John Berkeley and Ashburnham attended his person; and even the marquis of Ormond had free access to his presence: but the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed, was the company of his own children, with whom he had several interviews, which were so tender, that they seemed to melt the heart of Oliver Cromwell, who declared, he had never seen such a pathetic scene as the meeting of this fond parent with his infant offspring, and extolled the king for the benevolence of his disposition. He was visited by the Scottish commissioners, who expressed the most eager desire to serve him, thinking it was their real interest to unite with their sovereign against the independents, who were their common enemies. Cromwell and his associates caressed his majesty, in order to prevent this union, and assured him they would not lay down their arms, until he should be restored to his former dignity. Charles detested the presbyterians, as the inveterate enemies of the hierarchy, and the authors of all the troubles to which he and the kingdom had been exposed: but he prudently maintained a correspondence with both sides, in hope of being chosen as umpire to decide their difference; or at least of holding the balance between them, so as to make either scale preponderate. He had too great an opinion of his own importance. Cromwell, Ireton, and the other chiefs of the independent

The king at first caressed by Cromwell and his associates.

A. C. 1647. dent faction, amused him with vain hopes, until they had obtained a complete victory over the presbyterians and the city. Then they abated in their expressions of respect; he was more strictly guarded; they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private; he remained at Hampton-court, without receiving any further proposals of accommodation; and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He now perceived he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and began to be apprehensive of mischievous designs upon his person. The army presented him in private with proposals of peace, much more severe than those which had been offered to him at New-castle; and, because he rejected them, the officers were offended. Cromwell bitterly reproached Ashburnham, the king's chief confidant, for having assisted his majesty in treating with the Scottish commissioners, in order to engage that nation to act against the army. Major Huntington, whom Cromwell had employed in conveying secret messages to the king, gave his majesty to understand, that his employer would ruin him, if not prevented. He forthwith resigned his commission, and even offered to discover Cromwell's sinister practices to the parliament; but he was refused a hearing.

He escapes
from Hamp-
ton-court.

Finally, the king being warned from different quarters, and by various channels, of the designs that were harboured against his life, resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Early in the evening, he retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and, in an hour after midnight, went down the back-stairs, attended with Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and

and directed their route towards Hampshire. Ashburnham said he had bespoke a ship for conveying the king to some part of the continent, or to Jersey : but the vessel could not be found at the place appointed. The royal fugitive, thus disappointed, repaired to Titchfield, a seat belonging to the earl of Southampton, and discovered himself to that nobleman's mother, who received him with the warmest cordiality. There he deliberated with his friends about his next excursion ; and they advised him to cross over to the isle of Wight, which was under the government of colonel Hammond, who enjoyed a great share of Cromwell's confidence. Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before, to exact a promise of this officer, that if he could not protect, he would not detain his majesty's person. Hammond seemed surpris'd at their address ; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but owned, at the same time, he was under the necessity of obeying his superiors. When he understood where the king was, he accompanied them to Titchfield with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house, than he exclaimed, " O " Jack ! thou hast undone me ! " The other shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the colonel : but the king would not consent to such an expedient. He recollected all his fortitude ; and sent for Hammond, who repeated his professions of regard, and seemed to believe the army would take no step to his prejudice. Charles submitted to his fate, accompanied the colonel to the isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, where at first he found himself treated with marks of duty and respect. Though Ashburnham's conduct, on this occasion, has the air of treachery,

Clarendon.

And is conveyed to Carisbrook-castle in the isle of Wight.

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the

A. C. 1647. the king acquitted him of any treasonable intention; and, in all probability, he was outwitted by the emissaries of Cromwell and Ireton, who found some method to persuade him that the king's person would be safer in the isle of Wight than with the army. If that was the case, he concealed his design from the king, who perhaps would have disapproved of the scheme, and amused him with the hope of a vessel which he had never intended to provide. If he was free of disloyalty, he was certainly guilty of the most unwarrantable presumption and temerity.

He leaves a letter addressed to both houses.

The parliament was informed of the king's escape by Cromwell, who transmitted to them a letter, left by his majesty on the table, addressed to both houses. He complained of the rigorous captivity he had undergone, among people who were continually fluctuating in their principles; who were not ashamed to declare a design of destroying the nobility, by depriving the peers of their negative voice in parliament; and who favoured and encouraged the principles of the levellers. He said his intention was to conceal himself for some time, even from the knowledge of his friends; nevertheless, he earnestly wished for peace; and declared, he would contribute all that lay in his power, for the satisfaction of all parties. Lastly, he desired to be heard with honour and safety, in which case he would quit his retreat, and appear in public. On the fifteenth day of November, the earl of Manchester, speaker of the upper house, received a letter from colonel Hammond, informing their lordships, that the king had come to the isle of Wight, and put himself under his protection.

The levellers are quelled by Cromwell.

Cromwell now began to be disturbed by a sect of his own raising. He and his associates had indulged the soldiers to such a degree of licence, that he found it extremely difficult to reduce them to any sort

fort of subordination. When the differences between the parliament and the army were compromised, the generals had no further occasion for the concurrence of the common soldiers: their councils were suppressed, and the agitators remanded to their respective regiments. They refused to obey these orders; the councils and conferences were continued; they claimed an equal share with their generals, in regulating the government; they pretended to abolish all distinctions, and thence acquired the appellation of levellers. These principles would have produced division and anarchy among the troops, and entirely destroyed the authority of the generals, had not they been nipped in the bud by the conduct and resolution of Cromwell. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men, and began to expostulate with them upon the dangerous consequences of their stubborn and precipitate conduct. Finding them deaf to his remonstrances, he fell upon them all of a sudden, routed and dispersed the whole body, ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged upon the spot, and sent the rest to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he broke the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission.

The king being disappointed in his hope of escaping, sent a message to the two houses, accompanied with proposals for an accommodation. Though his conscience would not permit him to give up the order of bishops, he was contented that the presbyterian discipline, at present established, should continue during three years, on condition that he, and others of the English church, should be permitted to use their own rites, without incurring any penalty; that the ecclesiastical assembly at Westminster should consult and deliberate with

The king sends proposals for an accommodation, to the parliament.

A. C. 1647. twenty theologicians of his nominating, upon the subject of religion, that he and the two houses might fix upon a form of church-government, according to the word of God; and that all persons should enjoy liberty of conscience, without prejudice to the laws enacted against popish recusants, atheists, and unbelievers. He said he would consent to an act of parliament, vesting the power of the militia in the two houses, during his whole reign, provided that it should be afterwards reunited with the crown, as in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; and he proposed that, during his whole reign, all the great officers of state, and privy-counsellors, should be nominated by the two houses. He offered to abolish the court of wards and liveries, and to pass an act of oblivion; and he demanded permission to treat in person, with honour, liberty, and safety. When the king quitted Hampton-court, the two houses had prepared a set of propositions for his majesty; but they were not sent, because the Scottish commissioners raised continual obstacles, complaining that these proposals did not sufficiently provide for the interest of their country. The Scots at that time hoped to conclude a separate peace with him upon their own terms; but they insisted upon the abolition of episcopacy; and this was a demand with which he would not comply.

The two houses resolve to treat with his majesty.

At length the two houses resolved to treat with the king, provided he would give his assent to four preliminary acts, for establishing the militia; recalling all the declarations published against the parliament and their adherents; depriving peers created since the troubles of their right to sit in parliament; and empowering the two houses to adjourn at their own pleasure. These bills were prepared with such dispatch, that the independents had not time to start objections; and the Scottish com-

commissioners in vain attempted to throw obstacles in their way. The parliament was now resolved to break the measures of the independents; and, on the sixth day of November, received another message from the king, demanding a personal treaty. The commissioners from Scotland presented a long memorial to parliament, complaining that the two houses violated the covenant, in seeking to treat of peace without their concurrence; and objecting to the proposals that were prepared. The houses answered this memorial in very acrimonious terms, and ordered the printer to be imprisoned. Then they appointed a committee to present the bills to his majesty.

The Scottish commissioners at the same time repaired to the isle of Wight, with the articles of a treaty drawn up in form. Charles prudently refused to pass the four bills, without any security for the success of the treaty; because he justly feared, that after having granted these concessions, he should find the two houses as implacable as before. He was better pleased with the conditions offered by the Scots. The duke of Hamilton had made a tender of his services, which was very agreeable to his majesty. The marquis of Ormond had communicated to him a scheme of joining the lord Inchiquin in Ireland, and raising forces for his service in that kingdom. The Scots undertook to assemble an army in his behalf; and he imagined that the union of his friends with the presbyterians of both kingdoms, would be able to crush the power of the independents. Influenced by these considerations, he concluded a secret treaty with the Scottish commissioners, in which he promised to confirm the covenant in England and Scotland, together with the presbyterian government, for three years, during which the affairs of religion

Charles concludes a private treaty with the Scottish commissioners.

A. C. 1647. should be settled by an assembly of theologists and ecclesiastics of both kingdoms. They engaged that the kingdom of Scotland should defend the rights of his crown against all opponents; for which purpose it should send an army into England, to re-establish him upon the throne, effect an union of the two nations, and procure a solid peace. The commissioners stipulated several other advantages for their country, and returned very well pleased with the success of their negotiation.

The two
houses vote
that no ad-
dresses shall
be sent to
the king.

The king had no sooner dismissed the committee of parliament with a refusal, than the governor ordered all his domestics to quit the castle, and confined him so closely that no person could speak to him without having first obtained permission. An officer of the name of Burley residing in the isle of Wight, was fired with indignation at the unworthy treatment to which his sovereign was exposed; and endeavoured to engage some people in a design to rescue the king from the hands of his enemies; but, before he could put his scheme in execution, he was apprehended, condemned, and put to death. When the king's answer was reported in the house of commons, several members spoke with great virulence against his person; and in particular Oliver Cromwell, who called him a man of blood, and a double-dealer. He advised them to send no further addresses to the king, but to regulate the affairs of the nation without his concurrence. His proposal was supported by his associates; and, after violent debates, the house resolved, that for the future no addresses or messages should be sent to the king. They published a declaration on the subject, containing all the bitterness and malice of the famous remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, together with additional reproaches upon the king's subsequent

Rushworth.

quent conduct. This step, however, was not taken without great opposition in the house of commons, where there was still a majority of presbyterians, though they were intimidated by Cromwell, and over-awed by the neighbourhood of the army.

A. C. 1647.

Plan of operations in favour of his majesty.

The Scottish commissioners, before they returned to their own country, concerted measures with the marquis of Ormond, the other friends of the king of England, and the leading men among the presbyterians. They agreed that the marquis should join Inchequin, who commanded the parliament's troops in Munster, and had declared for his sovereign: besides, some chiefs of the rebels, disgusted at the tyranny exercised by the pope's nuncio in Ireland, had promised to reinforce Ormond with a considerable body of forces. The cavaliers undertook to raise insurrections in different counties of England; and the officers, excluded from the army by the new model, engaged in the same design. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had great influence in the North, resolved to secure Berwick and Carlisle; and the presbyterian party in London, and in the house of commons, began to make preparations for appearing openly against the parliament. Had this scheme been duly digested, and all the parts of it executed at the same time, Cromwell would have had occasion for all his talents, to preserve the footing he had gained; but, as they did not concur in one connected plan, acted at different times, without unanimity and proper preparation, the army found no difficulty in quelling one party before another declared itself, until all opposition was subdued.

The parliament of Scotland assembled on the tenth day of March, notwithstanding the intrigues of the marquis of Argyle, who, though a rigid presbyterian in religion, was an independent in politics, and had engaged in an intimacy of friend-

The Scots assemble an army under the duke of Hamilton.

A. C. 1647. ship with Vane and Cromwell. The moderate presbyterians were headed by the duke of Hamilton, his brother the earl of Lanerk, and lord London. Their interest predominated on this occasion; and the duke was chosen president of the committee of danger, appointed to provide for the safety of the kingdom. Argyle, finding his party out-numbered in parliament, had recourse to the general assembly, which had almost turned the scale in his favour. The committee, having examined the state of the kingdom, found it in great danger, and declared it would be necessary to raise an army of forty thousand men, to put it in a proper posture of defence. The commissioners of the assembly opposed this expedient with great violence and obstinacy. They presented a great number of demands to parliament, insisting upon the danger and iniquity of engaging in a war without provocation. Eighteen lords and forty members of parliament solemnly protested against the vote for levying an army. The marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, affirmed, that the intention of the committee was to support the king's partisans, the mortal enemies of the Scots, and all of the presbyterians in both kingdoms; that Edinburgh already swarmed with cavaliers, such as Langdale, Musgrave, Glenham, Fleming, and others, who hated the covenanters with the most inveterate rancour; and that a junction with the king's party, composed of papists, episcopals, and other malignants, was a manifest violation of the covenant. These representations, joined to the efforts of certain envoys, sent thither by the independents of England, made such an impression upon the people, that the parliament could not help issuing an ordinance, excluding from their army and protection all persons who should refuse to subscribe the covenant. The duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, found himself ob-
liged

Rushworth.

liged to dismiss the cavaliers, assuring them that he would elude this order as soon as he should have entered England. In a word, he met with continual obstacles, which retarded his levies. Instead of forty, he could hardly assemble fourteen thousand men; and these ill-armed and undisciplined; and his army was not in a condition to march till the beginning of July. A. C. 1647.

During these preparations, Langhorn, Powel, and Poyer, three colonels who had served in the parliament's army, declared for the king, secured the castle of Pembroke, and influenced the greatest part of South-Wales to espouse the royal cause; while lord Byron endeavoured in North-Wales and Cheshire to raise an insurrection in favour of his sovereign; and the people of Kent took arms, under the command of one Mr. Hales, a young gentleman of great fortune, but small experience or capacity. Insurrection in Kent and Essex in behalf of the king. General Fairfax sent Cromwell with a detachment to reduce the Welsh and oppose the Scots, should they invade the kingdom; while he himself continued at London to prevent disturbances in that city, and observe the motions of the Kentish insurgents. These were increased to a great number; and lord Goring, now earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller headed them, in expectation that London would declare for them, should they approach that city. With this hope they advanced to Blackheath; and Fairfax immediately took the field. Then they retired, some to Rochester, and others to Maidstone; which last place the general took by assault, where a great number of the enemy was killed and taken prisoners. The rest abandoned Rochester, and took post on Hounslow-heath, in hope of being succoured by the city of London; but, being disappointed in this hope, they dispersed at the approach of the army. The

A. C. 1647. earl of Norwich crossed the Thames at Gravesend in boats, with about five hundred men, in order to join the king's friends in Essex. These were assembled, to the number of three thousand, under lord Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Sir Barnard Gascoign, and colonel Farr, which last had been in the service of the parliament. They took possession of Colchester, where they proposed to remain until they could join the Scottish army, which they heard was already upon its march. They were soon invested by Fairfax, who, seeing the place almost destitute of defences, attempted to enter by force, but was repulsed with such loss, that being unwilling to hazard another assault, he resolved to reduce it by famine, and formed the blockade so close as to prevent the besieged from receiving the least succour, or reinforcement.

During these transactions there had been a commotion in London among the populace who favoured the king. They defeated a troop of the militia, secured two of the city-gates, compelled the mayor to take refuge in the Tower, advanced to Whitehall, exclaiming, "For God and the king;" and were at last dispersed by two regiments of cavalry. The king's second son, the duke of York found means to escape from St. James's, where he had been kept under the eye of the earl of Northumberland, and retired to Holland, where he was cordially received by his sister the princess of Orange. Langdale and Musgrave surprised Berwick and Carlisle; and, in a little time, found themselves at the head of four thousand royalists; so that they were in a condition to go in quest of general Lambert, who commanded in those parts for the parliament: but, by an express order from Edinburgh, they were forbid to hazard any action until

until the Scottish army should have entered Eng-^{A. C. 1647.} land. In the latter end of May, the sailors of a ^{Part of the} squadron, lying in the Downs, revolted against their ^{fleet declares} commander Rainsborough, whom they set ashore, to- ^{for the} gether with some other officers disaffected to the royal ^{prince of} cause. Being supplied with provision by the king's ^{Wales.} friends in Kent, they steered their squadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he resided with his mother, was no sooner informed of this lucky incident, than he repaired to Helvoetsluys; and, going on board of the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He sent his brother to the Hague, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army, when it should enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance; then he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Mean while, the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince; and anchored his ships so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed, in order to attack the earl; but, the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution. Warwick was reinforced with some fresh ships; and the royal fleet being in want of provision, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whither he was followed by the enemy. In the beginning of June the royalists surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, which they secured with a good ^{Clarendon.} garrison: and about the same time, Scarborough ^{Rushworth.} revolted from the parliament.

At

A. C. 1647.

The earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, &c. take the field for the king.

He is routed and taken.

At this juncture; the earl of Holland, who had changed sides so often, formed a design in favour of his majesty. The Scottish army was ready to march; Cromwell was employed in the siege of Pembroke-castle; Fairfax engaged in the blockade of Colchester, while not above two regiments remained in London; and the presbyterian party had regained its influence in parliament. The earl of Holland, thinking there could not be a more favourable opportunity for executing the scheme he had projected, set out from London publicly, attended by about an hundred horsemen, and was joined at Kingston upon Thames by the duke of Buckingham, his brother lord Francis Villiers, and the earl of Peterborough, with some forces. They forthwith sent a letter to the mayor and common-council of the city, declaring their intention of joining the troops of Surry, Suffex, and Middlesex, in order to deliver the king, and establish the peace of the nation; and desiring the assistance of London, as their sole aim was peace and the welfare of the kingdom, according to the covenant. The magistrates of the city, having very little confidence in the earl and his confederates, sent the letter to the parliament, by which the three noblemen were instantly declared traitors to their country. That same day their horse were attacked by colonel Lewesly, who routed them in the neighbourhood of Kingston; and lord Francis Villiers was slain in the engagement: but, in the night, the leaders abandoned the place, and retired with about four hundred men to St. Alban's. They were afterwards surpris'd at St. Neot's by colonel Scroop, who took the earl of Holland, and conducted him to London, from whence he was removed to the castle of Warwick: the other two noblemen escaped, and the whole project miscarried. On the eleventh day of July, the duke of Hamilton entered

tered England at the head of the Scottish army; and Cromwell having reduced the castle of Pembroke, began his march to join Lambert, who commanded for the parliament in the northern counties.

The duke of Hamilton enters England.

Had the duke of Hamilton advanced immediately into the heart of the kingdom, before the separate bodies of the English army could join together; in all probability he would have effected the restoration of his sovereign. The city of London would have shut its gates against Fairfax; and the royalists would have taken up arms in so many different parts of the kingdom, that the independents must have been divided, distracted, and overpowered: but the duke and his army seemed to act upon different principles. He desired to restore the king without conditions. The presbyterians, of whom his troops were composed, insisted upon the treaty which their commissioners had concluded with his majesty. They refused to march with the royalists, because they scrupled to take the covenant; they suspected their general of having a warm side to episcopacy; therefore thwarted his measures, and retarded his motions. He removed the English garrison from Carlisle, in which he left a body of his own countrymen. He was joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse; but this officer was obliged to march always at a distance from the Scots, to elude the order of their parliament, which had expressly forbid Hamilton to act in concert with those English who should refuse to subscribe the covenant. Lambert retired at their approach with such precipitation, that he must have been entirely defeated had the duke pursued him in his retreat; but that nobleman, instead of taking the advantage of his disorder, loitered away several days at Carlisle, then marched to Kendal in Westmoreland,

A. C. 1647. land, where he remained until he could no longer find subsistence for his army. For this reason he advanced with part of his forces into Lancashire, and fixed his head-quarters at Preston.

He is defeated, and taken by Cromwell, who marches into Scotland.

Cromwell, having joined Lambert in Yorkshire, resolved to seek the enemy, though his troops did not amount to nine thousand; and these were almost exhausted with fatigue. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose division composed the duke's vanguard, sent notice that Cromwell was at hand; and advised his grace to contract the quarters, which were scattered at great distances from each other. The duke persuaded himself that it was no more than a detachment from Cromwell's army, and neglected the salutary advice of the English officer, who was attacked by the enemy's horse; and, after a very obstinate dispute, driven back to Preston. The duke ordered him to advance again, and promised that he should be sustained; but he did not perform his promise, and Langdale was entirely routed, on the sixteenth day of August. Then Cromwell's cavalry marched to Preston, which they found in the utmost confusion, and took, after a smart engagement. The duke retired to the other side of the bridge, at which he posted a strong guard, that defended it obstinately for some time; but, at length, they were obliged to abandon it to the victors. The fugitives were, next day and the following, pursued to Warrington; after having made a stand, and defended a defile for several hours: there Bailey, who commanded them, surrendered with his men prisoners of war. The duke fled, with about three thousand horse, to Utoxeter; but Lambert being close at his heels, he and all his officers fell into the hands of the enemy: while the broken cavaliers escaped to Cumberland, where they joined major-general Monro. This officer had followed the duke of Hamilton with a reinforcement

forcement of horse and foot, and now retreated to his own country, without paying any regard to the remonstrances of the king's friends, who solicited him to join them, and make a stand against the enemy. Cromwell, marching to the border, sent a letter to the committee of the Scottish parliament, demanding that they would recal Monro, and deliver up Berwick, otherwise he would carry the war into their country. The face of affairs was now entirely changed in Scotland: Argyle's interest predominated, and he assembled a body of troops to oppose Monro, who had been, at his return, joined by the earl of Lanerk. They seized Stirling, and hampered the marquis: but all their measures were broken by Cromwell, who advanced to Edinburgh. The committee of danger abandoned that place, and the earl of Lanerk and Monro consented to an accommodation. Cromwell was received at Edinburgh with great solemnity, by means of Argyle, with whom he cultivated an intimacy of friendship. Berwick and Carlisle were delivered into his hands: at the desire of the Scots, he left Lambert with some regiments, to overawe the malignants of that country; and, having concerted measures with the marquis, returned in triumph to England.

The royalists in Colchester had defended the place with surprising intrepidity and resolution, until they were compelled by famine to surrender at discretion. Then the general sullied his victory with an act of cruelty, which he was instigated to commit by the barbarous and bloody-thirsty Ireton. In a council of war it was resolved, That Lucas, Lisle, and Gascoign, should be put to death; but the life of Gascoign was spared, on account of his being a foreigner. When the other two were brought out to be shot, Lucas gave the word to fire, as if he had been at the head of his own company.

Colchester is surrendered to Fairfax, who causes Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to be put to death.

A. C. 1648.

pany. Lisle kissed him eagerly after he was dead; and desired the executioners to come nearer. One of the soldiers replying, "I'll warrant you, Sir, we will hit you;" "Friend (said he smiling) I have been nearer you when you have missed me." So saying, he received their shot, and fell, lamented by all good men who had an opportunity to know the candor of his heart and the sweetness of his disposition. Gascoign, who was a Florentine, having undressed himself to undergo the same fate, desired he might be indulged with pen, ink, and paper, to make the grand duke acquainted with the nature of his death, that his family should not be deprived of his possessions; and the council of war, finding he was a foreigner, would not take away his life, lest the grand duke of Tuscany should make retaliation upon the English subjects in his dominions.

Clarendon.

The parliament take resolutions for treating with the king.

While the army was at a distance from London, and the Scots expected in England, the presbyterian party prevailed in the two houses at Westminster: and the independents were fain to submit. The common-council of the city presented a petition, demanding that the chains for their streets and barricadoes, which had been taken from them, should be restored: and major-general Skippon commissioned to command the forces in London. Their demands were immediately granted. The house of commons, having deliberated upon the form of government to be established, voted that the nation should be governed by a king and two houses of parliament: That the proposals sent to the king at Hampton-court should serve as a foundation for the government: and, that each member might freely speak his sentiments with respect to his majesty. The parliament received another petition from the mayor and common-council, desiring, that they should be authorized to establish their

their own militia: and, that the command of the Tower should be conferred on a person recommended by them to the two houses. The parliament complied with these requests; and the citizens began to prepare for action. On the fifth day of May, the commons published a declaration, importing, That they would maintain the covenant, and join the Scots in treating with his majesty. The inhabitants of Surry repairing to Westminster in great numbers, petitioned the two houses, That the king should be re-established in all his rights and prerogatives; and the troops disbanded. They committed such violence upon the guards of the parliament, that recourse was had to a detachment of horse and foot quartered in the Mews and Whitehall, who attacked and dispersed them, after having killed and wounded a great number. Such rash, inconsiderate conduct was prejudicial to the king's affairs. The presbyterians began to suspect, that their intention was to restore the king, without conditions; and therefore they kept aloof when the cavaliers took arms in different parts of the kingdom.

Embarrassed between the royalists and independents, and equally afraid of the success of either, they resolved to conclude a peace with the king, during the absence of the army. In spite of the opposition of the independents, the two houses voted, That after the king should have signed three bills to be presented to his majesty, they would treat with him upon the rest of the proposals to which the two kingdoms had agreed. These three bills related to the establishment of the militia, the presbyterian discipline, and the revocation of the declarations which had been published against the parliament. The commons ordained, that the eleven members of their house, and the lords who had been accused by the army, should be acquitted

The accused members are acquitted: the houses determine to treat.

A.C. 1648.

of all imputation; they restored Glyn, the member for Westminster, who had been expelled; and forbid all persons, on pain of death, to take arms without their authority. On the twenty-sixth day of June, they appointed a committee to consider of means to treat with his majesty. The mayor, aldermen, and common-council petitioned; that a personal treaty should be set on foot with his majesty; and the Scots invited to concur with them in their endeavours after peace. The commencement of this negotiation was retarded by disputes between the lords and commons. The advice of the committee was, that they should annul the vote by which they had prohibited addressees to the king: that they should not insist upon the three bills as preliminary; but remove his majesty to one of his houses in the neighbourhood of London. The lords approved of this advice; but the commons refused to treat, except upon the three previous conditions. The city of London concurred with the upper house, in several petitions, and seemed to threaten the commons with more violent measures. These, on the other hand, employed Skippon to enlist soldiers for a guard, on pretence of apprehending the designs of the cavaliers, who at that time swarmed in London; and the independents employed all their arts to foment this division.

The king
and parliament
agree
to open the
conference
at Newport.

At length, the commons consented to wave the three preliminary bills; but, fifty days elapsed before they could agree upon the manner, time, and place of the treaty; and in that interval, the Scots and all the royalists were overthrown: so that the presbyterians became more fearful, and the independent interest revived in the two houses. Nevertheless, they resolved to proceed with the treaty; and signified their resolution to the king. In compliance with his demands, the upper house voted,
That

That the prohibition to address him should be annulled : That those whose attendance and advice his majesty required, should be with him ; and that he should be restored to the same liberty he had enjoyed at Hampton-court : That the treaty should be carried on in the town of Newport ; and the Scots be invited to send thither their commissioners : That five lords and ten commoners should be appointed as commissioners from the English parliament. The commons objected to the article of inviting the Scots ; but agreed that they might send deputies of their own accord, or in consequence of the king's invitation. They drew up instructions to colonel Hammond, touching his conducting the king to Newport ; and insisted upon his majesty's promising, upon his royal word, that he would not leave the isle of Wight, during the conferences, nor for twenty-eight days after they should be finished. Mean while, petitions were delivered to the parliament, by the city of London, demanding, that the king should be set at liberty, and invited to a personal treaty : another to the same purpose was presented by the officers who had been reduced ; but, when the news of Cromwell's victory arrived, the independents produced a petition, signed by many thousands, taxing the commons with corruption ; disapproving of a treaty with the king ; and proposing the model of a sort of republican government. This address was seconded by another, in the name of the ship-masters ; but, the parliament did not think this was a proper conjuncture to irritate them further, by answering their reproaches : nevertheless, they persisted in their resolution to treat, and their commissioners set out for the isle of Wight.

Rushworth.

They were surprised at the manifest change that appeared in their hapless sovereign. When he was bereft of his servants, and cut off from all human

Particulars of the negotiation.

A. C. 1648.

communication, he laid aside all care of his person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair, which being dishevelled and neglected, was now almost totally silvered by the hand of time, or the pressure of anxiety; and his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a venerable figure of majesty and distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. Though his exteriors were altered, his mind was serene; he received them with a cheerful aspect; and, in the course of the conferences, discovered an amazing extent of understanding. The earl of Salisbury, surprised at these instances of uncommon capacity, said to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved of late!" "He was always so, (replied the other) but now, at last, you are sensible of it." Sir Henry Vane insisted upon their being rigid and circumspect in proposing terms of accommodation, on account of the king's uncommon abilities. He freely agreed to recal the declarations which had been published against the parliament; but it was not without great reluctance, that he consented to acknowledge they had taken arms in their own defence. He surrendered to the parliament the whole power of the militia, and that of levying money for its support, during the term of twenty years; nay, even that of resuming the same authority, at any time after the expiration of that term, when they should declare such a step necessary for the public safety. With respect to religion, he said his conscience would not permit him to consent to the abolition of episcopacy, which he firmly believed was of apostolical institution; and as to the sale of the church-lands, he deemed it not only sacrilegious, but expressly contrary to his coronation-oath, by which he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; nevertheless, to convince them

them of his eager desire after peace, he would consent to their reducing episcopacy to its primitive use: that archbishops, deans, and chapters, should be abolished: that the presbyterian form of discipline should continue for three years, during which the king and parliament, with the advice of the ecclesiastical assembly, and other divines named by his majesty, should agree upon some suitable plan of church-government. He yielded up the queen's privilege of having mass celebrated in her own chapel: he was willing that the chapter-lands should be let at low leases for ninety-nine years: he gave up the book of Common-prayer, with the proviso, that he might use some other liturgy in his own exercises of devotion: he resigned the whole management of the Irish war to the two houses: he promised his assent to an act for raising money to discharge the public debts: he submitted to the parliament's demand of selling all the great offices for twenty years, as well as to the abolition of the court of wards, on condition, that he and his successors should, in lieu of it, receive the annual sum of one hundred thousand pounds: he acknowledged their great seal, and resigned his own, together with the power of creating peers without the consent of the two houses: he consented to their obliging the royalists to compound for their estates; but, when they demanded a bill of attainder against the marquis of Newcastle, lord Digby, lord Byron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, he absolutely refused to sacrifice his best friends to their vengeance, though he would have yielded to their banishment for a limited time. He continually upbraided himself with his tame condescension in giving up the earl of Strafford to the rage of an implacable faction; and his ideas of gratitude and friendship had been corroborated by the reflections

A. C. 1648. that occurred to him in his solitary confinement: Though he had now almost wholly divested himself of his royalty, to please the arrogance of an usurping parliament, the two houses having considered his answers and concessions, voted them unsatisfactory on the articles of episcopacy, popery, the covenant, the sale of church-lands, and delinquents. The term of the conferences was prolonged; and the parliament demanded a final answer of his majesty. To make a parade of their indulgence, they voted, That he might return with honour, liberty, and safety to London: and, That he should be put in possession of his lawful revenues, as soon as he should have subscribed to all their propositions. What was this but a cruel mockery of insolence and deceit! They professed to treat with their sovereign, and insisted upon his complying with all their demands. No person of sentiment and candour can reflect upon the pride and obstinacy of those plebeians, without indignation.

Remonstrance of the army against the king, who is removed to Hurst-castle.

While the king and the two houses were engaged in this negotiation, the officers of the army endeavoured to start new obstacles to a pacification. The king's party having surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, colonel Rainsborough was sent to besiege the place, and lost his life in a struggle with a party of the garrison, which endeavoured to carry him off by stratagem. He was a desperate tool of Cromwell, who therefore resolved to revenge his death, and invested the castle with some of the troops from Scotland. In the mean time, he sent a strong detachment forwards to join Fairfax, whose head-quarters were at Windsor. The officers thus reinforced, drew up a remonstrance, and presented it to parliament. They demanded, that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the bloodshed and evils with which the

the kingdom had been afflicted: that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be proclaimed traitors, and banished for ever, unless they should submit within a certain limited time: that the revenues of the crown should be sequestered for public uses: that a continual succession of parliaments should be secured on some settled plan: that, for the future, no king should be owned but by the election of parliament, and after the person so elected should have expressly renounced his negative voice against the resolutions of the commons. Addresses of the same kind were received from a number of the inhabitants and ship-masters of London, from the neighbourhood of Oxford, the town of Newcastle, the county of York, and different bodies of the army. The general recalled Hammond, and sent colonel Eure to take the king into close custody. The commons complained of this change, and ordered the general to continue Hammond in his command; but, instead of obeying their mandate, he directed Eure to remove his majesty to the castle of Hurst in Hampshire, opposite to the isle of Wight. He justified this step by a declaration, in which the army taxed the majority of the members with corruption, and exhorted those who had good intentions, to protest against the resolutions of the two houses, and retire; in which case the army would acknowledge and obey them as the legal parliament.

On the first day of December, the general wrote a letter to the city of London, intimating that he was on his march for that capital, on account of the contempt with which the parliament had treated the remonstrance. He protested he had no sinister design against the city; but desired the magistrates would supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling, in eight and forty hours. The commons assented to the request, though the mo-

The commons purged by the army.

Rushworth.

A. C. 1648. Clarendon. ney was not sent; and the general was intreated to advance no nearer to London. While the house was employed in examining the king's offers, the general arrived with several regiments, and took possession of Westminster. On the fourth day of the month, the house of commons receiving intelligence that the king was conveyed to Hurst-castle, voted, That his majesty had been removed without their consent: then they resolved, That the king's concessions might serve as a foundation for peace. After this vote, they appointed a committee to treat with the general, about restoring a good understanding between the parliament and the army. On the sixth day of the month, Fairfax dismissed the militia of London, which for several months had served as a guard to the two houses; and ordered his soldiers to take possession of the avenues to Westminster-hall. Forty-one members going to the lower house did they arrest, and confine in a neighbouring house: and when the speaker sent thither the serjeant to summon those members to their places, the officer who guarded them, told him he knew no orders superior to those he obeyed. Colonel Whally, accompanied by several officers, repaired to the house of commons, and presented a writing, intitled, "Propositions and demands of the army for its justification." They charged the invasion of the Scots, and all the obstacles which had hindered the re-establishment of peace, upon major-general Brown, and ninety members of the house, whom they named, and whose immediate expulsion they demanded. On the seventh day of December, the commons, in going to the house, found a strong guard on both side of the door, by which those ninety members were denied admittance.

The presbyterians being thus excluded, the house became wholly independent; and Cromwell taking

taking his seat, was thanked for his great services. A. C. 1642. The general detached three regiments into the city, and seized twenty thousand pounds belonging to the merchants. The excluded members having published a protestation against the violence they had undergone, the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious; then they ordained that in the ensuing election for the magistracy of London, no person should be chosen mayor, or common council-man, who had assisted the king against the parliament, either in the first or second war; who had countenanced the tumults in London and Westminster, or the insurrections in Kent, Essex, Middlesex, or Surry. On the twentieth day of December, the general released sixteen of the imprisoned members, who were allowed to resume their places in parliament. The small number of peers who sat in the upper house, unable to stem the torrent, thought proper to acquiesce in the measures of the victorious party. Petitions were now presented against the king, by the soldiers of Lambert's army, and the counties of Somerset and Norfolk; and the fleet under the earl of Warwick sent a declaration, in which they concurred with the army's remonstrance.

At length, this bold remnant of the house of commons, presumed to form a resolution which far transcended all former acts of treason and fanaticism. They appointed a committee to draw up a formal accusation, or impeachment of his majesty; Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor. On the road he was permitted to dine at the house of lord Newburgh, who had previously contrived a scheme for his escape, by means of a fleet courser provided for that purpose; but before the king arrived, the beast was lamed by the kick of another horse. The duke of Hamilton, who was

The independent interest prevails in parliament.

They resolve to impeach the king, who is removed to Windsor.

A. C. 1648. was confined at Windsor, being admitted into the presence of his sovereign, ran towards him with all the eagerness of affection, and fell upon his knees, exclaiming, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." The king was instantly hurried away, and the duke weeping bitterly, foretold that this was the last time he should see his persecuted prince. Such was the fortitude and resignation of Charles, that all his own misfortunes never cost him one tear; but, he could not see, unmoved, the ruin of his adherents. Immediately after the deplorable fate of the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, a relation of that gentleman appearing before the king, in a mourning habit, his majesty recollected the occasion, and shed a flood of tears as a tribute to the memory of the deceased. When Charles arrived at Windsor, the council of war ordained, that he should be no longer treated as a sovereign. All ceremony was laid aside: he saw himself deprived of his servants, and exposed to every insult of contemptuous familiarity. These were severe mortifications, which, however, he bore without repining. He could not believe his adversaries would presume to bring him to a formal trial; but, for some time, he nightly expected the private stroke of assassination, until he was undeceived by Harrison, who assured him, that his fate would be as public as the sun at noon.

On the twenty-eighth day of December, the commons having considered the report of their committee, passed an act for erecting a high court of justice, empowered to try the king, by the name of Charles Stuart, for having formed the detestable design to overthrow the fundamental laws and liberties of the nation, and introduce an arbitrary and

and tyrannical government: for having waged a cruel war upon his parliament, by which the kingdom had been miserably ravaged, the public treasure exhausted, commerce intirely ruined, many thousands of people destroyed, and an infinite number of evils produced. Thomas lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Philip Skippon, and other persons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commissioners and judges, on this surprising trial. The ordinance for impeaching the king being sent to the upper house was unanimously rejected by sixteen peers, who instantly adjourned for ten days: the lower house immediately voted, That the members of their house, and the other commissioners nominated as judges on the king, might execute the commission, although the lords had rejected the ordinance. At the same time, they crazed from the commission, the names of six peers who had been appointed among the judges, and inserted others. Among these was Bradshaw, a practitioner of the law, whom they afterwards elected president of their high court of justice. This measure being taken, they voted, That the sovereign power resided originally in the people: That the authority of the nation was in the hands of the commons of England, assembled in parliament as representatives of the people: and, that whatsoever the commons declared to be law, had the force of a statute, without the assent of king or peers. From the sixth to the twentieth day of January, the time was employed in making preparations for this astonishing trial, which passed in Westminster-hall. On the sixth day of January the Scottish commissioners resident at London, in a letter to parliament, pressed for unity of councils and actions between the two nations, according to the covenant; and desired that

The ordinance for impeaching the king rejected by the upper house.

A. C. 1648. that the house would not proceed to try the king until the opinion of Scotland should be known,

The king is brought to trial, and refuses to own the jurisdiction of the court.

Coke being chosen solicitor-general for the trial, and Dorislaus and Aske appointed to assist in managing and drawing up the charge against the king, the court of justice heard the charge, and appointed a committee to peruse the proofs. On the first day of the trial, the crier of the court called over the names of the commissioners; and nobody answering for lord Fairfax, his name was repeated, when a female voice from the gallery exclaimed, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of all the good people of England, "No, (replied the "same voice in a shriller tone) nor the twentieth "part of them." One of the officers ordered a file of musqueteers to fire at the place from whence this answer proceeded; but they soon discovered that the person who spoke was the lady Fairfax, whom they persuaded to retire. The king being brought from Windsor to St. James's, was next day produced before the high-court in Westminster-hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker, and about thirty officers armed. He was met at the gate by the mace of the court, and conducted to a chair placed within the bar, on which he sat down without moving his hat; and with an air of dignified disdain surveyed the members of the court, who were likewise covered. The president Bradshaw gave him to understand, he was brought thither to be tried, upon a charge against him by the commons of England. His majesty made a motion to speak, but was interrupted. When he heard the charge, accusing him as author of all the blood that had been shed during the war, he smiled at their insolence; and demanded by what authority he was brought to such a trial?

I

Brad-

Bradshaw replying, "In the name of the commons of England;" he observed, that without the king and the lords, there could be no parliament; that the kingdom of England was hereditary; and that, without being convinced of their having lawful authority, he should betray his trust in answering the articles of his impeachment. Having been summoned to answer several times, and refusing as often, he was remanded to St. James's; and the court adjourned. On the twenty-second day of January, the Scottish commissioners delivered some papers to the house, declaring, That Scotland had an undoubted interest in the person of the king: That he was not delivered to the English commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person; but for a speedier settlement of the peace of his kingdom. They dissented extremely from the present way of proceeding against him, which, they said, left a deep impression on their hearts, and sat heavy on their spirits, in regard of the great miseries that were like to ensue upon the kingdoms; and they moved for leave of the house, to make their personal addresses to his majesty; papers of the same nature they likewise presented to the lord general. At the second sitting of the high-court, the president required the king to answer to the charge of high-treason which had been brought against him. His majesty again demurred to the legality of the court; observed, that the commons of England never constituted a court of judicature; challenged Bradshaw to produce one precedent; and offered to give his reasons for conceiving, that he could not, in conscience and duty, submit to their authority. But he was interrupted by the president, and reconveyed to his lodgings. At his third appearance, he continued firm to his purpose; refused to put in any particular answer until he should be convinced that their proceedings were

A. C. 1648. were not contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: he told them they had made their king a prisoner, while he was in treaty, on the public faith of the kingdom: and, that he was willing to give satisfaction to his people; but not as a criminal before a court of judicature, which could have no legal authority. He underwent divers interruptions and insolent replies from Bradshaw, and was conducted to the house of Sir Robert Cotton in the neighbourhood, where he spent the night.

He is condemned to death.

The next step was to publish the charge against his majesty. On the twenty-seventh day of the month, the high-court sat in Westminster-hall: and the king in going thither was insulted by the soldiers, and the lowest class of the populace, who exclaimed, "Justice, justice! execution, execution!" He appeared undaunted as before, with his hat on; and desired, that as he had something to say that might nearly concern the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, he might be heard before the lords and commons in the Painted-chamber. His judges withdrew into the court of wards, where many members of their court were of opinion that they should comply with the king's desire. When they were over-ruled by the majority, colonel Harvey and some others went away in discontent, and would never afterwards sit with the rest of the commissioners. The king's proposal being rejected, he declared he had nothing else to say. Had he been indulged in this request, it is thought he would have proposed a resignation of the crown in favour of the prince of Wales. The president now expatiated upon his misgovernment; and endeavoured to prove by argument, and instances from history, that kings were accountable to their people. Then he commanded the clerk to read the sentence, reciting the charge of treasons and crimes, for which the court did

did adjudge, That he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body. He discovered no signs of emotion at this unheard of outrage against justice, humanity, and decorum; but again desired a hearing, which was refused. In walking through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble, instigated by their superiors, renewed the cry of "Justice and execution." They reviled and scoffed at him in the most bitter and taunting expressions; they blew into his face the smoke of tobacco, which was particularly offensive to his organs; and one miscreant even presumed to spit in the face of his anointed sovereign. These insults he bore with the patience and piety of a primitive martyr. He smiled at their rancour: "Poor souls! (said he) for a little money they would treat their commanders in the same manner:" and he poured forth ejaculations to heaven in favour of his adversaries. Those of the populace who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier melting at the sight of fallen majesty, could not help imploring aloud, the blessing of heaven upon his royal head. An officer overhearing his petition, struck him to the ground in presence of the hapless monarch, who said, "The punishment methinks exceeds the offence." At his return to Whitehall, he desired permission of the house to see his children, and be attended in his private devotion by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London; and both these requests were granted, though he was exposed to the impertinent exhortations of Hugh Peters the furious fanatical preacher.

The design of trying a king as a malefactor before a court of judicature, constituted of his own subjects,

A.C. 1648-9 subjects, was looked upon with horror by every nation on the continent. Though the French ministry was distracted, and that kingdom involved in a civil war, their ambassador in England was ordered to interpose in the king's behalf. The Dutch also employed their good offices, though in a very cold, phlegmatic manner. The Scots exclaimed, preached, and protested against the violence offered to majesty. Pathetic letters were written to the parliament by the queen and the prince of Wales. The duke of Richmond, the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey, presented a remonstrance to the commons, importing, that as they were the king's counsellors, and had advised all those measures now imputed as crimes to their sovereign, they only were guilty; and offered themselves as sacrifices to the safety of their prince. This generous interposition in favour of their hapless master, which reflects eternal honour on their names, produced no effect upon the commons; and the high-court of justice appointed the thirtieth day of January, for the king's execution.

Charles bears his fate with great equanimity.

During this short interval of three days between his sentence and his death, he had a very tender interview with his two hapless children, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, who were brought to him from Sion-house. This last was an infant; but the princess, though a child, expressed a deep sense of the misfortunes to which her family was exposed. The fond parent now wept over his orphan offspring, while he clasped them in his paternal embrace. He enriched his daughter with sensible advice and pious exhortations. He charged her to tell the queen, that he had never, not even in thought, swerved from his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal affection

Justice for t
England J

nd standeth of high treason
~~shall~~^{was} be putt to death by the
~~law~~

tion should not terminate but with his life. He A.C. 1648.9 gave her two seals adorned with jewels, the only wealth that now remained to this ill-fated monarch. He implored heaven to shower down blessings on these forlorn babes and the rest of his children; and taking leave of them in the most affecting manner, resigned himself to his fate. This last struggle of nature being passed, he prepared himself for death with the most serene tranquillity. The greatness of this dreadful transaction overwhelmed the people with fear and astonishment; they waited in silent horror, as if they expected the dissolution of nature. The fanaticism of the soldiers was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiastic frenzy by sermons, exhortations, and prayer. Fairfax, who exerted all his influence to avert the execution of the sentence, was plied with this religious artifice: Cromwell and Ireton assured him that the Lord had rejected the king, and exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven. Harrison was employed to join with him in his exercises of devotion, which he prolonged in prayer, psalms, and lamentations, until the fatal stroke was over.

The warrant for executing the king was now granted by the high-court of justice, and pious Charles longed for his deliverance. On the thirtieth day of January he was conducted on foot through St. James's park to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Tomlinson. He had taken the sacrament in the morning. He continued at his devotion in Whitehall till noon, when he drank a glass of wine, and ate a morsel of bread. Then he went through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold erected adjoining to that edifice. It was covered with black cloth: on the middle of it appeared the block and ax, with

He is be-
headed at
Whitehall.

A.C. 1648-9 two executioners in vizors; several troops of horse and companies of foot were drawn up on each side, and the place was surrounded by a multitude of spectators. The king eyed the implements of death with great composure, and asked if there was not a higher block. Then, addressing himself to colonels Tomlinson, Hacker, and some other persons who were on the scaffold, he declared himself innocent of having commenced the war against his parliament. He owned that his fate was a just judgment from heaven, for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his successor as their lawful sovereign; and signified his inviolable attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. While he prepared himself for the block, Dr. Juxon told him, there was but one stage more; which, though troublesome, was short, and would convey him to heaven, where he should find ineffable joy and comfort. "I go (said the king) from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." "You are exchanged (replied the good bishop) from a temporal to an eternal crown; a good exchange." Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his george to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remember." Then he laid his neck upon the block, and stretched forth his hands as a signal. One of the men in vizors severed his head from his body at one blow; and the other, holding it up streaming with blood, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The spectators testified their sorrow in sighs, tears, and lamentations; and great numbers attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of this murdered prince, which they considered as the precious relics of a blessed martyr. Such were

Ludlow.
Whitelock.
Rushworth.
Clarendon.

were the impressions of grief and horror made by this melancholy spectacle, that some pregnant women lost the fruit of their wombs; others were seized with convulsions; and many fell into violent distempers that conveyed them to their graves. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with the tears of real-sorrow and contrition; and the people, in general, conceived an abhorrence and detestation of those execrable hypocrites, who, under the mask of sanctity, performed a deed which hath fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation *. The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall; then enbalm'd, and expos'd for several days at the

* That the people in general were affected and incensed at the execution of the king, appeared from the eagerness with which they bought up the first impression of the work, intitled, *Icon Basilike*, a collection of the prayers and meditations of the king in the exercise of his private devotion and reflection. The stile of this book is strong, elegant, and perspicuous; and it abounds with such manly sentiments of piety and good sense, as reflect unfading honour upon the memory of the royal author. His enemies, not contented with having deprived him of life, endeavoured to rob him of the reputation of having written this performance, which they ascribed to Dr. Gawden; but the *Icon* is so much superior in style, matter, and composition, to all the other productions of this author, that every reader of discernment must perceive the absurdity of the imputation. Charles was very liberal to the celebrated Flemish painter, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, by whose advice he purchased the cartoons of Raphael, which are now in the palace

of Hampton-court; together with many excellent pieces of painting from foreign countries. He likewise carested Vandyke, who was the pupil of Rubens, and even bestowed upon him his own kinswoman in marriage. His architect was the famous Inigo Jones, an artist who far surpassed all his contemporaries, and left many monuments of his inimitable genius, that still remain in England. Laws, the musician, was a particular favourite with Charles, who used to call him the father of music. He bestowed particular marks of favour upon the renowned Harvey, who, to the eternal honour of the English nation, discovered the circulation of the blood, from his own sagacity assisted by experiments. It must be allowed that this prince was a judge of literary merit. Charles, considering the narrowness of his revenue, lived with great magnificence, and possessed four and twenty palaces, elegantly and compleatly furnished. All his furniture was sold, and great part of his pictures and rich tapestry were purchased by cardinal Mazarine at low prices.

B b 2

palace

A.C. 1648 9 palace of St. James's. At length, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, obtained permission to bury it in the church of Windsor; where it was privately interred, without any funeral ceremony †.

Character of
Charles I.
king of
England.

Such was the unworthy and unexampled fate of Charles I. king of England, who fell a sacrifice to the most atrocious insolence of treason, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was a prince of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His hair was of a dark colour, his forehead high, his complexion pale, his visage long, and his aspect melancholy. He excelled in riding and other manly exercises: he inherited a good understanding from nature, and had cultivated it with great assiduity. His perception was clear and acute, his judgment solid and decisive; he possessed a refined taste for the liberal arts, and was a munificent patron to those who excelled in painting, sculpture, music, and architecture. In his private morals he was altogether unblemished and exemplary. He was merciful, modest, chaste, temperate, religious, perso-

† Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four sons and five daughters; namely, Charles James, who died in the cradle; Charles prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded; James duke of York; Henry duke of Gloucester, who died after the restoration; Mary, who espoused William of Nassau, prince of Orange, by whom she was left a widow; Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrook castle, where she died of grief; Anne, and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta-Maria, who was carried in her infancy by the countess of Dalkeith

into France, where she married Philip duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. Carte.

During the peaceable period of this reign, the commerce of England increased considerably, to the East-Indies, Guinea, Spain, and Turkey. The colony of New-England became populous; for great numbers of Puritans fled thither in consequence of being severely treated by Laud and the high-church party. The catholics, afterwards, in order to avoid the same kind of persecution from the Puritans, resorted to America, and settled the colony of Maryland.

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nally brave; and we may join the noble historian A.C. 16489 in saying, "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian of the age in which he lived." He had the misfortune to be bred up in high notions of the prerogative, which he thought his honour and his duty obliged him to maintain. He lived at a time when the spirit of the people became too mighty for those restraints which the regal power derived from the constitution; and when the tide of fanaticism began to overbear the religion of his country, to which he was conscientiously devoted. He suffered himself to be guided by counsellors who were not only inferior to himself in knowledge and judgment; but generally proud, partial, and inflexible: and, from an excess of conjugal affection that bordered upon weakness, he paid too much deference to the advice and desires of his consort, who was superstitiously attached to the errors of popery, and importuned him incessantly in favour of the Roman catholics. Such were the sources of all that misgovernment which was imputed to him during the first fifteen years of his reign. From the beginning of the civil war to his fatal catastrophe, his conduct seems to have been unexceptionable. His infirmities and imperfections have been candidly owned in the course of the narration. He was not very liberal to his dependents; his conversation was not easy, nor his address pleasing; yet the probity of his heart, and the innocence of his manners, won the affection of all who attended his person, not even excepting those who had the charge of his confinement. In a word, he certainly deserved the epithet of a virtuous prince, though he wanted some of those shining qualities which constitute the character of a great monarch.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. C. 1649.

The parliament choose a council of state.

Clarendon.
Ludlow.

Execution of duke Hamilton and lord Capel.

AFTER Charles I. had fallen a martyr to a bold and unrelenting faction, the commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of incurring the penalty of high treason, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, as sovereign of England. They likewise voted the house of lords useless and dangerous. It was therefore abolished, and all the peers reduced to a level with their fellow-subjects. They afterwards passed an act, abolishing the kingly power, as useless, burdensome, and dangerous; and decreed, that the state should be governed by the representatives of the people, sitting in the house of commons, under the form of a republic. On their new great-seal were engraved the arms of England and Ireland, circumscribed "The great-seal of England:" the other side represented the house of commons, surrounded with this inscription, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of persons, intitled, The Conservators of the liberty of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under the direction of parliament. Thirty-nine persons were chosen as a council of state for the administration of public affairs, under the authority of parliament. Another high-court of justice was erected, to try some noblemen who remained in custody; and Bradshaw was again elected president.

The persons devoted to death under this form of justice, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring whom the king had created

created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, accused of having carried arms against the parliament. The duke of Hamilton had made his escape, and was discovered by accident in the burrow of Southwark, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower. At his trial, he pleaded, that he was not a subject of England; but a prisoner of war, taken in open hostility, acting by virtue of a commission from the parliament of his own country. The judge told him he was tried as earl of Cambridge; and that having accepted this title, and sat in the English parliament, he was become a subject of England. The earl of Holland, being oppressed with age and infirmities, made very little defence. The earl of Norwich said he had been bred from his youth in the court, and received many obligations from his majesty, whom he thought it was his duty to obey. Lord Capel refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court; he claimed a fair trial by his peers, if he had done any thing contrary to the laws. He affirmed, that when Colchester was taken, general Fairfax had promised that his life should be spared: but this promise was over-ruled; upon the general's declaring he had only exempted the prisoner from military execution. Sir John Owen said he had served the king according to his conscience, and the oath of allegiance he had taken. They were all convicted, and condemned to lose their heads. Sir John Owen hearing the sentence, thanked the court, with a profound reverence, for adjudging him to such an honourable death; and swore, by God! he was afraid they would have ordered him to be hanged like a felon. Their friends petitioned the parliament in their behalf; and the earl of Norwich, with Sir John Owen, were reprieved. The duke, when he mounted the scaffold, complained bitterly of the sentence, by which he suf-

received the melancholy tidings of his father's death. He forthwith assumed the title of king; and; and all those who attended him, and had been members of his father's council, were now continued as counsellors, and took the oath accordingly. He subsisted entirely on the friendship and bounty of his brother-in-law the prince of Orange; but he soon saw himself in danger of being cut off from that resource. The states of Holland, foreseeing that the parliament would insist upon their obliging him to leave their dominions, were inclined to anticipate the demand; and the king being informed of their inclination, resolved to prevent the disgrace of a dismissal: but he knew not where to find a retreat. In his father's lifetime, he had met with an inhospitable reception in France; and he was too well acquainted with the disposition of the queen-regent and the cardinal, to believe they would now prefer his friendship to that of the new republic: besides, he could not relish the prospect of living with a mother, who had endeavoured already to direct his conduct with the most despotic authority. In this emergency Charles fixed his eye upon Ireland. The pope's nuncio had rendered himself so odious to the catholics of that kingdom, that he was obliged to retire. The marquis of Ormond having concluded a second treaty with the council of Kilkenny, took the command of their forces, with which he wrested Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda, from the hands of the parliament of England, and resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. Prince Rupert, who now commanded the king's fleet, had been chased by a superior navy under the earl of Warwick, and retired to the harbour of Kingsale, where he lay in safety, and was able to favour the operations of the marquis. Thither Charles resolved to

A. D. 1649.
Charles II.
resolves to
try his for-
tune in Ire-
land.

A.C. 1649. to retire, when his design was suspended, in consequence of the intelligence he received from Scotland.

He is proclaimed in Scotland; but declines complying with their proposals.

The parliament in that kingdom had disavowed the proceedings against the late king; and in high terms taxed the English parliament with a violation of the covenant, inasmuch that their commissioners were arrested, and for some time detained in custody. The Scots hated the independents, whom they considered as implacable enemies to their nation, as well as to the presbyterian discipline; and they dreaded the thoughts of a republican government, settled upon the principles which the English parliament seemed to pursue. Their states therefore being assembled, issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign, on condition that, before his admission to the exercise of the regal functions, he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom, touching the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and solemn league and covenant. Deputies were sent to inform the king of this transaction; and they reached the Hague just at the time when the earls of Lanérk and Lauderdale arrived in Holland. In a few days after their landing, the king was visited by the marquis of Montrose, who had formerly paid his respects to the queen and Charles, then prince of Wales, at Paris, where they received him very coldly, because they were afraid of disobliging the covenanters, by whom the marquis was abhorred. After that interview, Montrose engaged in the service of the emperor; but hearing of his master's martyrdom, he now repaired to the Hague, with a numerous retinue of gentlemen, who followed his fortunes, and made a tender of his service to his young

young sovereign; so that now the king was besieged by three parties of the Scottish nation, who hated one another; namely, the rigid covenanters, patronised by Argyle; the moderate presbyterians, who adhered to duke Hamilton; and the royalists, headed by Montrose. The king had no great reason to be rejoiced at the news of his being proclaimed, under such restrictions. He was displeased at their insolence, in presuming to capitulate with their sovereign: he remembered that the ruin of his father was entirely owing to the Scottish presbyterians: he had no great opinion of their power and unanimity: he detested their hypocrisy, was averse to their austere manners, and waved their invitation. Instead of subscribing to their conditions, he persisted in his design to visit Ireland; and in the mean time granted a commission to Montrose to make a descent upon Scotland.

Charles, in consequence of his mother's importunities, resolved to visit her before his voyage to Ireland. He was the more inclined to gratify her in this request, as he perceived the states-general were heartily tired of his residing in Holland: besides, his departure was hastened by an incident which gave great umbrage to the Dutch nation. Dr. Dorislaus, a native of Delft, who had lived many years in England, and been employed as judge-advocate in the parliament's army, was now sent over to the Hague, in quality of agent from the two houses. On the very evening of his arrival, as he sat at supper in a public ordinary, five or six strangers entering the apartment, with their swords drawn, one of them desired the company would be under no apprehension, as their business was only with Dorislaus, agent to the rebels in England, who had so lately murdered their sovereign. So saying, he pulled him aside, and killed him on the spot. The assassin and his confederates retired

Dr. Dorislaus assassinated at the Hague by some Scottish officers.

A.C. 1649. retired unmolested: but they were known to be Scottish officers depending upon the marquis of Montrose. The states did not fail to complain of this outrage; but they behaved with great respect to the king, and proceeded so slowly in their inquisition, that the offenders had time to consult their own safety.

Insurrection
in Scotland.

Charles, in order to avert the disgrace of a formal intimation to be gone, desired an audience of the states of Holland, to whom he explained the nature of his situation, with regard to Scotland and Ireland, and craved their advice and assistance. After this instance of his confidence and esteem, they could not, with any decency, desire him to withdraw, especially as he had signified his resolution to visit Ireland with the first opportunity. Mean while, he appointed the lord Cottington, and Mr. Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, his ambassadors and plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to solicit succours from his most catholic majesty. His friends in Scotland understanding he was averse to the conditions which the parliament wanted to impose, determined to excite an insurrection; and, if it should be crowned with success, receive him upon his own terms. Colonel Middleton and Monro, with the assistance of the Gordons, levied some troops, and surprised Inverness; but they were soon dispersed by the vigilance and activity of Strachan, an officer employed against them by the parliament.

Mutiny of
the levellers
at Burford.

Clarendon,

The face of affairs in Ireland underwent such an alteration as rendered it impracticable for the king to go thither with any prospect of advantage. The English house of commons was now at leisure to provide for the security of that kingdom. They were alarmed at the union of the royalists and the Irish Roman catholics: they voted a strong army for that service, and Cromwell was appointed lord lieutenant

lieutenant of the kingdom. The levellers, incensed at finding themselves treated as mutineers, and fowers of sedition, after they had acted such a considerable part in reducing the presbyterians, began to assemble, on pretence of deliberating upon the choice of the troops to serve in Ireland; and actually took post at Burford, to the number of five thousand, pretending Cromwell had promised that no part of the army should approach within ten miles of their rendezvous: but Reynolds, by the direction of Fairfax, fell upon them suddenly, at the head of six thousand men; and they were totally routed. About fourteen hundred he made prisoners and sent to London: a few of these were executed, and the rest pardoned through the mediation of Cromwell.

A. C. 1649.

Baker,

While Oliver was employed in preparing forces for the Irish expedition, the marquis of Ormond undertook the siege of Dublin: but hearing that Cromwell intended to land his troops in Munster, he detached lord Inchiquin to that province to oppose him, and began to form the blockade of Dublin, though his army was now considerably weakened. Cromwell had sent thither a reinforcement of three thousand men; and colonel Jones, the governor, being thus strengthened, would no longer remain upon the defensive. He made a sally with the best part of his garrison, and charged the quarters of the besiegers at day-break with such fury, that Ormond's army fled with great precipitation; he himself escaping with difficulty, after he had made a gallant stand with a body of officers. Cromwell, being informed of this action, changed his design; and, instead of landing in Munster, sailed directly to Dublin, where he arrived in the middle of August. Then the marquis retired with the wreck of his army to a greater distance, after having thrown into Tredagh a numerous garrison, under

The marquis of Ormond obliged to raise the siege of Dublin.

A. C. 1645. der the command of Sir Arthur Aston. About the same time the royalists were obliged to raise the siege of London-derry, in consequence of a defeat they sustained in a sally from Sir Charles Coot the governor. These unfavourable events deterred the king from prosecuting his purpose of repairing to Ireland : but, as he found his situation at Paris very uncomfortable, both on account of his mother's temper, and the mortifying neglect of the French court, he retired with his brother the duke of York, and his little court, to the island of Jersey, where Sir George Carteret the governor still preserved his fidelity inviolate.

The king
retires to
Jersey.

Clarendon.

He agrees
to treat with
the Scots.

Whitelock.

The committee of the Scottish parliament, which had received no definitive answer from Charles, dispatched George Windham to the king, with proposals for his settlement in Scotland, according to a treaty to be concluded between him and the states ; but they protested they would not begin the negotiation, until he should have acknowledged the legality of the present parliament. Before Windham reached Jersey, the king had received the account of Ormond's defeat, and Cromwell's progress in Ireland, where he had taken Tredagh by assault, and put the garrison and Irish inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Charles was moreover importuned by the queen and the prince of Orange, to listen to the Scottish proposals ; so that Windham found him extremely well disposed to a treaty. Not that he would have condescended so far, could he have found any other resource ; for, after he had assured Windham that he would meet the Scottish commissioners at Breda, in the month of March, he wrote a letter to Montrose, to hasten his preparations for a descent upon Scotland, in hope that his success would spare him the mortification of treating with those whom he considered as the worst of rebels. When Windham returned

Rate.

returned to his own country, the parliament, and general assembly of the kirk, influenced by the marquis of Argyle, concurred in preparing a set of propositions, and appointed deputies to open the conferences at Breda.

They met the king at the appointed time and place, and presented him with four articles of peace, from which they would not recede. They demanded that none of those who had been excommunicated by the kirk, should have access to his majesty: That he would declare upon oath, and by writing signed with his privy-seal, his approbation of the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms, and fulfil the intention of them to the best of his power: That he would confirm and ratify the acts of parliament, enjoining the subscription of those covenants, establishing the presbyterian church-government, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechism: That he would practise them himself; give order that they should be practised by his domestics; and promise that he would never allow them to be changed; finally, That all civil concerns should be regulated by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the general assembly. Charles did not receive these proposals without indignation, which, however, he carefully dissembled, because he was in no condition to manifest his resentment. He signified his aversion to take the covenant, which indeed he detested: he offered to confirm the presbyterian discipline in Scotland, by act of parliament; but with respect to his own person, he thought it unreasonable to expect that he should renounce the religion in which he had been educated. He desired to know if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards his being restored to the crown of England. They

owned

Their propositions at Breda.

A. C. 1650. owned they had no such powers; and that he had no other alternative but that of accepting or rejecting their propositions.

Montrose
arrives in
Scotland.

Shocked as he was, at this insolent imposition, he found it absolutely necessary to temporize, and protracted the negotiation, until he should hear from Montrose; upon whose success all his hopes were founded. That heroic nobleman having been supplied with money by the king of Denmark, and some private gentlemen of his own country, who were settled in that kingdom, and in Sweden, purchased some arms and ammunition, which, with about five hundred soldiers, he transported to the most northern parts of Scotland, at the very time when the commissioners were at Breda. He surprised a castle, in which he secured his military stores, summoned his friends to join him, and published a manifesto, representing, that he was come by virtue of his majesty's commission, to protect his fellow-subjects, without any intention to interrupt the negotiation at Breda. On the contrary, he hoped to facilitate the conclusion of it, by means of his army; and should it be crowned with success, he would immediately lay down his arms.

He is de-
seated and
taken.

The parliament at Edinburgh was exceedingly irritated against the king, for having, at such a conjuncture, granted a commission to a person who was alike the object of their terror and abhorrence, degraded and forfeited by their court of justiciary, and excommunicated by their clergy. They perceived the king's drift was to make his own terms. They forthwith assembled an army, under the command of David Leslie; and, in the mean time, detached Strachan northwards with a body of horse, to keep the country in awe, and hinder the royalists from joining Montrose. The marquis had no cavalry, and very few partisans repaired to his standard; so that he neither could

procure intelligence of the enemy, nor withstand them when they suddenly appeared. The highlanders fled at the first charge; but the foreigners made a vigorous stand for some time, and the marquis fought with his usual intrepidity: at length, however, they were broken and dispersed. Montrose himself, being obliged to provide for his safety in flight, threw away his george and garter, and exchanging apparel with a peasant, repaired in this disguise to the house of a gentleman who had formerly served under his command. There he lay concealed for two days; but, whether he was betrayed by his landlord, or discovered by accident, he fell into the hands of Lesley, who treated him with great insolence; and, after having exposed him to the view of the people, in this wretched attire, conveyed him to Edinburgh, where the parliament was then sitting. At the gate of the city he was delivered to the magistrates, who caused him to be bound down upon a high chair, placed in a cart provided for the purpose, and conducted thro' the public street, that the people might have a full view of the man, at mention of whose name they had so often trembled. The common executioner stood by him in the cart, before which the officers taken in the engagement walked in fetters to the prison, where he was treated as a common malefactor. He stood collected within himself, and bore all these indignities with the most noble disdain, often smiling at the ridiculous rancour of his enemies.

In two days after his commitment, he was brought before the parliament, and bitterly reviled by the earl of Loudon the chancellor, who upbraided him with having broken the covenants, rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom, and committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impities. He told them, that as the king had condescended to

Condemned
and execut-
ed.

NUMB. LXIX.

C c

treat

A. C. 1650. treat with them, he would behave towards them with more reverence than he should otherwise have expressed for such an assembly. He said he had taken and kept the first covenant, while they prosecuted the purposes for which it was ordained; that he had never subscribed the second, which was productive of the most monstrous rebellion; that he had raised forces by virtue of his majesty's commission, and acted like a faithful subject, without perpetrating those cruelties that were laid to his charge, or suffering any blood to be shed but in battle; on the contrary, he had always put a stop to the carnage as soon as he possibly could take such a step with any regard to his own safety, and had saved the lives of many persons then present, to whose evidence he appealed. He observed, that he had laid down his arms, and quitted the kingdom, at his late master's command; that he had now again returned to Scotland, by the authority of his present majesty. He advised them to consider the consequence of proceeding against him in this manner, and demanded a fair trial by the laws of the land, or by the law of nations. He was condemned to be hanged the next day on a gallows thirty feet high; and the sentence implied, that he should be afterwards quartered, and his members exposed in different parts of the kingdom. During this short interval, he was persecuted by their ministers, who told him his sufferings in this life would be but an easy prologue to those which he would undergo hereafter; and without scruple pronounced his eternal damnation. He heard them with scorn, observing, that they were a miserable, deluding and deluded people, and would shortly bring that poor nation to the most insupportable servitude. He declared, he was as well pleased to hear that his head should be placed on the Tolbooth, as he should be to know that his picture hung in the king's bed-chamber; and

and wished he had flesh enough to be distributed among all the cities of Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered. At the place of execution, the hangman tied about his neck, with a cord, an elegant Latin book, containing the history of his exploits, written by Dr. Wishart, who had been his chaplain. He smiled at this mark of impotent malice, saying, he was prouder of that collar than ever he had been of the garter. He demeaned himself with undaunted courage, and the most pious resignation. He expatiated on the virtues of his murdered master; spoke in praise of the justice and goodness of the present king, and fervently prayed that they might not betray him as they had betrayed his father. After some devout ejaculations, he chearfully submitted to the sentence, which was executed with every circumstance of barbarous exultation. Such was the ignominious death of James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a nobleman of illustrious birth, unspotted faith, amazing courage, and incredible magnanimity. He possessed the romantic virtues of heroism above all his cotemporaries. He thirsted after glory with the most greedy appetite: he seemed insensible of danger; and thinking himself equal to the most arduous enterprize, atchieved a series of the most surprising adventures. Thirty of the officers taken with Montrose were executed in different parts of the kingdom; and, among these, colonel Urrey, who had shifted sides so often since the beginning of the troubles. Colonel Whiteford saved his own life by saying, when he was brought to the place of execution, that he was to suffer for no other reason, but because he had slain Dorislaus, who was concerned in the murder of the late king. The magistrate then present suspended the execution, in order to report this expression to the council, who

Clarendon.
Whiteford.

A. C. 1650. thought proper to avoid reproach, by sparing the colonel's life.

The king
lands in
Scotland.

After the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, subscribed the terms which the Scottish commissioners had presented, and embarked at Scheveling, with the earl of Lanerk, now duke of Hamilton, and his kinsman the earl of Lauderdale, who were so obnoxious to the rigid presbyterians, that when they arrived in Scotland, they found it necessary to retire to their respective houses for their personal safety. The king was obliged to sign the covenant, before the Scots would allow him to set his foot on shore. Then the marquis of Argyle received him with demonstrations of the most profound respect: but all his English domestics of any quality were removed from his person, except the duke of Buckingham. Daniel O Neal was apprehended, as an Irishman who had been in arms for the late king, and banished from Scotland by order of the council: and they dismissed Mr. Robert Long, principal secretary of state, Sir Edward Walker clerk of the council, and many other servants, whose places they supplied with rigid covenanters. He was surrounded, and incessantly importuned by their clergy, who came to instruct him in religion; obliged to give constant attendance at their long sermons and prayers, which generally turned upon the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignant disposition. They insisted upon his observing Sunday as the most rigorous fast of a Jewish sabbath; they kept a strict watch upon his looks and gestures; and, if ever he chanced to smile during this religious mummary, he underwent a severe reprimand for his profanity. With respect to the external appearances of royalty, he had no occasion to complain. He lived in great state
and

and plenty, was well attended, and served with marks of deference and submission; but debarred all exercise of regal power, and restricted in every article of private satisfaction. The marquis of Argyle at first strove to ingratiate himself with Charles, by the most complaisant deportment, and such entertaining conversation as he thought would be agreeable to his majesty: but, when the king hinted the desire of effecting an union between him and Hamilton, he appeared extremely averse to such a coalition, and gradually withdrew himself from all communication with his sovereign, whom he now suspected of a design to accomplish his destruction by means of his inveterate rival.

The English parliament, alarmed at the treaty of Breda, as supposing that the king would employ an army of Scots to recover the crown of England, resolved to anticipate the danger by carrying the war immediately into Scotland, whither, in all probability, they were invited by the marquis of Argyle; and for this purpose they recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almost wholly subdued. The marquis of Ormond was disabled from opposing him effectually, by the dissensions that prevailed among the Irish. Monk, after a long imprisonment, had been persuaded to engage in the service of the parliament, and now acted as one of their generals, under Cromwell. He concluded a peace with O Neal, which was authorized by the council of state; but the parliament having refused to ratify it, as being too favourable to the catholics, O Neal began to treat with Ormond; and was on the point of joining that nobleman, when his purpose was prevented by death: then his troops dispersed of their own accord. Mean while Cromwell reduced Kilkenny, with many other places, and prosecuted his conquests with surprising rapidity. That the Irish

A. C. 1650.

Rapid progress of Cromwell in Ireland: from whence he is recalled, and declared general of the commonwealth's forces.

Clarendon
Bat

4, C. 1650. might not have opportunities to compromise their differences, and unite against him, he, by proclamation, permitted their officers to enlist as many soldiers as they could engage in foreign service, and assured them that they should depart unmolested. Above five and twenty thousand immediately took the advantage of this permission, and entered into the service of France; so that all opposition was subdued. Then he constituted his son-in-law Ireton deputy-lieutenant, and returned to England, in obedience to the mandate of the parliament. When he took his seat in the house, the speaker thanked him for the services he had done the commonwealth: then they proceeded to deliberate upon the war with Scotland. They desired to know if Fairfax would conduct that enterprize. He knew they did not much depend upon his attachment, and that this was no other than a bare compliment. He therefore declined the service, and sent his commission to the commons, who gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds, and appointed Oliver Cromwell general of the forces of the commonwealth. As the royalists and presbyterians exclaimed against the injustice of this war, the house appointed a committee to draw up a declaration, in which they supposed that the Scots intended to intrude Charles II. into the throne of England, though they had not as yet signified any such intention.

The Scots
raise an army.

They had indeed begun to levy some troops; and they were no sooner informed of the English preparations, than they redoubled their diligence in assembling an army, the command of which they bestowed upon Lesley earl of Leven. Argyle, in modelling this army, excluded all officers and soldiers who were suspected of having a warm side to the royal cause. Commissions were granted to none but rigid presbyterians, who were generally destitute

destitute of courage and discipline. They were directed by a committee of the kirk and state. The ministers encouraged them with long prayers, and preached with equal bitterness against the vices of the court, and the impiety of Cromwell. They promised victory with as much confidence as they could have expressed, if they had been actually inspired. With great difficulty they consented to the king's seeing the army; but perceiving the soldiers were pleased with the sight of their sovereign, they removed him to a greater distance, declaring that the soldiers were too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh, whereas their hope and dependence ought to be in the prayers and piety of the kirk.

About the middle of July, Cromwell, at the head of an army amounting to eighteen thousand men, began his march for the Scottish border, where he published his manifesto, and understood that the Scots were encamped, to the number of eight and twenty thousand men, well armed and equipped, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. They had ordered all the people to quit the country between Berwick and the capital, and remove their effects; so that Cromwell advanced without opposition through a desolate country, attended by a fleet which supplied him with provision. He found the enemy so strongly entrenched between Leith, Edinburgh, and Dalkeith, that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage, and thought proper to retreat towards Mussleburgh. Lesley detached a body of horse to fall upon his rear, commanded by Lambert, over whom they gained some advantage. Next day a hot skirmish happened between two detachments; and the Scots were repulsed to their camp with considerable loss. Cromwell made another motion towards them, in hope of drawing them from their intrenchments;

Cromwell
marches in-
to Scotland.

A. C. 1650. but all his efforts were ineffectual. After the two armies had remained in sight of each other for several weeks, Cromwell was so straitened for want of provision and forage, that he found himself under a necessity of retiring. He resolved to embark his infantry on board of the fleet, and return with his horse to Berwick. With this view he marched to Dunbar, where his navy lay at anchor; and by this time his army was diminished to about twelve thousand men. He was followed by the Scots, who encamped upon a hill, at the distance of a mile from Dunbar, in full confidence of putting an end to the war, by the destruction of the whole English army.

Defeats the
Scots at
Dunbar.

Indeed Cromwell was now reduced to such difficulty, that he could neither embark his troops, prosecute his march, nor remain in his present situation, without exposing his army to the most imminent danger of being defeated or starved. General Lesley, sensible of his advantage, resolved to keep his ground, and watch the motions of the enemy; but the clamours of the ministers who attended the camp, and boldly promised victory in the name of the Lord, excited such a spirit of impatience among the soldiers that he was obliged to yield to the torrent, and put his army in motion to attack the English. Cromwell had spent his time in preaching, praying, and seeking the Lord, from whom, he said, he received particular comforts and assurances, during the exercise of his devotion. On the second day of September, perceiving the Scots in motion, he exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands;" and ordered his army to sing psalms, as if he had already been assured of the victory. Indeed, he had no great reason to doubt of his success against such an enemy. He then advanced towards them, and next morning before day-light, began the attack. The Scottish
cavalry

cavalry on the right wing made a vigorous charge ; A. C. 1650. but were soon repulsed, broken, and put to flight : the left wing abandoned the field without engaging. Three regiments of their infantry stood until they were cut in pieces ; but all the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Above three thousand were slaughtered on the spot and in the pursuit : and among these some ministers, in the very act of encouraging them with assurance of victory. Seven Clarendon, Baker, Whitelock. or eight thousand were taken, together with seven and twenty pieces of cannon, all their baggage and ammunition ; while, on the other hand, the English did not lose above forty men in the engagement. Cromwell immediately took possession of Leith and Edinburgh ; but the castle held out till the latter end of December.

This defeat was far from being disagreeable to the king, who resided at St. Johnston's. The Scottish parliament, which had excluded the Hamiltonians, and all the royalists, from the army over which Cromwell had obtained the victory, now saw the necessity of employing them for the preservation of the kingdom ; and therefore treated the king as a person of some importance to the commonwealth. They resolved that all those who had been formerly excluded should, upon proof of their repentance, be admitted to offices and employments in the state and army. Great numbers did public penance, that they might have an opportunity to serve their country ; and the king soon saw his friends in a condition to exert themselves for his interest. This change, however, was not effected without great opposition from the rigid party, who protested against the parliament's resolution, and acquired the appellation of Protesters, while the other side were termed Resolutioners. The former, strengthened by an association of the western shires, and

Great animosity in Scotland between the resolutioners and protesters.

A. C. 1650. and joined by Strachan, Ker, and some other good officers, presented a remonstrance to the parliament, by which it was declared seditious; but, as this faction was very numerous, it was thought necessary to take some measure for their satisfaction. To this end, the king was obliged to publish a declaration, acknowledging the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been shed in the civil war. He expressed a deep sense of his own pernicious education, and the prejudices he had imbibed against the cause of God; he confessed all the former part of his life had been a course of enmity to the work of God; he professed his repentance for having granted a commission to Montrose; and protested he would adhere to this declaration to the end of his life. It was not without the utmost reluctance that Charles complied with this expedient, which did not produce the desired effect. The protesters believed, that this extraordinary step, by which he voluntarily stigmatized his own family, was no other than a cover to some design which he had hatched against them. On this supposition, they engaged in a closer union among themselves; and declared they would have no nearer communication with the resolutioners, than with Cromwell and the English independents.

The king attempts to escape from the marquis of Argyll.

Charles, extremely chagrined to see he had exposed himself to no purpose, and very much dissatisfied with his present situation, listened to a proposal of the royalists, who solicited him to join them at Dundee, where he would find a considerable body in arms. He escaped in the night from St. Johnston's; but at that place of rendezvous found only a very small party in waiting; and, while he deliberated upon his next excursion, he

was

was overtaken by colonel Montgomery, whom Argyle had detached in pursuit of him with a troop of horse. The king was obliged to return, not a little mortified at this disappointment; but this attempt to escape had a good effect in his favour. The marquis of Argyle and the committee of the estates, were now alarmed with the apprehension, that the rigour with which he was treated, might reduce him to take some desperate resolution, perhaps that of joining the cavaliers, and involving the nation in a civil war. They therefore relaxed in their severity; and even admitted him to some small share in the administration.

Charles perceiving that nothing effectual could be done for his service without the concurrence of Argyle, who was at the head of the clergy, by whom the majority of the nation was directed, endeavoured to gain over that nobleman to his interest. He affected to treat him with uncommon affability and esteem; and even hinted a desire of espousing his daughter. The marquis kept aloof, because he knew the king's aversion to his principles; but his son lord Lorn, who was captain of the guard, attached himself to the king, and faithfully executed his private commissions. The ceremony of the coronation was performed at *Scone* on the first day of January; and, after that time, all persons were indiscriminately admitted into his majesty's presence. Levies were now set on foot, without distinction of parties; and an army of eighteen thousand men was completed by the beginning of June, before Cromwell could take the field, so much was he retarded by want of forage.

Charles appointed David Lesley his lieutenant-general, and putting himself at the head of his troops, took post at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling, in a very advantageous situation, having at his back a plentiful country, from which he could

A. C. 1650.

He is crowned at Scone.

Clarendon. Burnet.

Lambert, with a detachment of the English army, routs major-general Brown in Fife.

A. C. 1651. could be conveniently supplied with provision. All the passes of the Forth were strongly guarded, and his camp surrounded with intrenchments, which secured him against any attack of the enemy. Cromwell marched up, and offered him battle; but the Scots had been rendered circumspect by the experience of the preceding year, and would not quit their defences. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell detached colonel Overton with sixteen hundred men towards Edinburgh, and they passed the Frith in boats provided for that purpose. He was immediately followed by Lambert with a more considerable body; and these two officers took post in the shire of Fife, while Cromwell favoured their descent by advancing to the king's intrenchments, as if he had intended to carry them by assault. The king no sooner understood that the English had taken possession of Fife, than he sent major general Brown, with four thousand men, to give them battle; but he being totally routed by Lambert, Cromwell transported his whole army without further opposition. Though he had thus cut off the king's communication with Fife, from whence he had drawn his chief supplies of provision, this motion had left the frontiers of England exposed; and even frustrated the purpose of the war, which was undertaken to prevent the king from marching into England.

The king marches into England, and is followed by Cromwell.

Charles therefore, instead of following Cromwell, who now made himself master of Perth, resolved to seize this opportunity of penetrating into England, where he did not doubt of being joined by a great number of royalists and presbyterians. In that hope he took the route to Carlisle with all possible dispatch, and had been several days on his march before Cromwell received the least intimation of his design. This was the second capital error

ror which Oliver had committed since he invaded Scotland; the first was, that of suffering himself to be cooped up at Dunbar, where nothing could have saved him from ruin but the egregious folly of the Scots, joined to their want of true courage and discipline. When he received intelligence of the king's march into England, he wrote an account of it to the parliament, assuring them he would soon be at the heels of Charles. He advised them, in the mean time, to arm the militia in all the different counties, that the royalists might be prevented from assembling, and he himself be reinforced at his arrival in England. He detached Harrison and Lambert, with a strong body of horse, to harass the king in his march: he left Monk and five thousand men in Scotland, with orders to reduce Stirling and Dundee; and then he began his march with great diligence, in hope of overtaking the king before he should reach London.

Charles had sent colonel Massey before him, with a detachment, to receive those who should join the royal standard; and he wrote to the earl of Derby to quit the Isle of Man, and meet him in Lancashire, where that nobleman had great interest; but events did not answer his expectation. The rigid presbyterians in his army deserted in great numbers, from a conscientious dislike to the service. The militia of England overawed the royalists; so that they could not rise in the king's behalf. The committee of the kirk, which followed the army, ordered Massey to publish a declaration, importing, that the king was a zealous friend to the covenant; and that such as refused to sign it would not be received in his army. Though the king forbade Massey to publish this declaration, the purport of it was so well known, that many cavaliers were deterred from joining their sovereign. The English

The earl of Derby defeated by colonel Lilburne.

A. C. 1651. English presbyterians were extremely averse to the king's being established, until he should have previously confirmed the concessions made by his father in the treaty of Newport. The earl of Derby having assembled twelve hundred men for the king's service in Lancashire, was encountered by colonel Lilburne, on his march with a reinforcement to Cromwell; and defeated, after an obstinate engagement, in which lord Withrington lost his life.

The king
takes post at
Worcester;

The king's army, instead of being augmented, was daily diminished by desertion and disease; so that he laid aside his design of marching to London, and directed his route to Worcester, where he thought he should be able to refresh and recruit his fatigued army, without running great risque from the efforts of the enemy. He met with a cordial reception from the magistrates of the place, where he was solemnly proclaimed; and he quartered his troops in the neighbourhood. Mean while, Cromwell being strongly reinforced, called in his detachments, and advanced towards Worcester, with an army greatly superior in number to the royalists, who were encamped within a mile of the city, and waited the attack without flinching. Cromwell, resolving to make a diversion on the other side of the Severne, detached Lambert to pass the river at the bridge of Upton, guarded by Massey, who defended it with great vigour, until he was severely wounded and carried off; then the bridge was abandoned, and the enemy passed without further opposition, under the command of Fleetwood. Thus, the king was obliged to weaken his army, by sending a detachment to the same side of the river.

where he is
totally routed
by Cromwell.

On the third day of September, the anniversary of the battle at Dunbar, Cromwell attacked the royalists at both ends of the town; and the engagement

agement lasted several hours, during which, the brigade commanded by the duke of Hamilton and general Middleton, fought with great gallantry, until Middleton was dangerously hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greatest part of his officers and soldiers disabled or slain. No other part of the royalists made the least resistance. The cavalry were immediately driven back into the town, which was filled with confusion and dismay. In vain did the king endeavour to rally and lead them back to the charge. They fled at full gallop; and being pursued by the enemy's horse, were killed, taken, or dispersed. The infantry, thus abandoned, were seized with consternation, and stood tamely to be butchered by the victors. Two thousand perished by the sword; and four times that number, being taken, were sold as slaves to the American planters. The earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, and general David Lesley, fell into the enemy's hands; and the duke of Hamilton died of his wounds, sincerely regretted by all good men, as a nobleman of unblemished worth and integrity.

A. C. 1654

Clarendon,
Whitelock,

The king retired from the field with Lesley, and a good body of horse; but, seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and believing they could not possibly reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three servants, whom he likewise dismissed, after they had cut off his hair, that he might have the better chance for remaining unknown. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel in Shropshire, where he was for some days entertained by four brothers of the name of Pendrell; three of these acted as scouts, while the fourth accompanied the king, who being disguised in the habit of a peasant, worked for some days at wood-cutting. Then Charles made an attempt to retire

Charles conceals himself among the boughs of a spreading oak;

A. C. 1651. into Wales under the conduct of his companion ; but the passes of the Severne were guarded in such a manner, that he returned to Boscobel, where he met with colonel Careless, who had, like himself, escaped from the battle of Worcester. It was during his residence in this place, that they were obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they passed that day together, beholding, and overhearing the conversation of several persons, who went thither on purpose to search for their unhappy sovereign, that they might deliver him into the hands of his enemies. In the dusk of the evening, Careless conducted the king over hedges and ditches, for about eight miles, till they arrived at a cottage belonging to a poor Roman catholic peasant, known to the colonel, who was himself of that religion. Their host being told that the stranger was a cavalier who had escaped from Worcester, conveyed him to a little barn almost filled with hay, among which the king enjoyed a profound sleep, after the fatigue he had undergone in this last pilgrimage, which he had performed in his boots. But, before he went to rest, it was thought proper that Careless should retire, as the danger was the greater while they travelled together ; and send some person in whom he could confide, to conduct the king to another place of security. Mean while he was entertained with coarse bread and butter-milk, the best fare his landlord could provide, without incurring the suspicion of his neighbours.

is conducted
to a cottage,
and lies in a
barn;

undergoes
surprising
hardships;

After he had rested two nights upon the hay-mow, a man came from Careless with directions to guide him to another house, more out of the way of visitation, and at the distance of twelve miles. Before he set out on this nocturnal excursion, he exchanged apparel with his host, who in lieu of his boots, procured an old pair of shoes ; but

but they were so uneasy to his feet, that, after he had travelled in them a few miles, he threw them away and walked in his stockings, and these were soon torn with the hedges over which he passed. His feet were so wounded with thorns and sharp stones, and he was so exhausted with the fatigue of this dismal journey, that he several times threw himself on the ground in despair, chusing rather to be taken by his adversaries, than to proceed in such torture. His guide, however, used such remonstrances as encouraged him to repeat his efforts, and before morning he reached the place of his destination, where he was again lodged in a barn among straw, fed with the most homely fare, and supplied with shoes and stockings. From thence he was conveyed to a third house; and thus, for some days, he passed from one to another, through the habitations of poor Roman catholics, who concealed him with great fidelity. He received great assistance from one Mr. Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, who provided him occasionally with a horse, and more decent apparel than the wretched garb he had hitherto worn.

This man effected an interview between his majesty and lord Wilmot, who was likewise concealed in that neighbourhood. Wilmot introduced him to Mr. Lane, a worthy gentleman, in the county of Stafford, in whose house he was conveniently accommodated. There he read the proclamation, by which a price of a thousand pounds was set upon his head, and the penalty of high-treason denounced against those who should harbour or conceal the person of Charles Stuart. He now deliberated with Mr. Lane about the means of escaping to France; and the son, who had been a colonel in his service, was admitted to the council. They agreed that, as the king wished to be in the western parts of the kingdom bordering upon the sea,

is cordially received by Mr. Lane of Staffordshire and rides before that gentleman's daughter to the neighbourhood of Britol;

N^o 69.

D'd

he

A. C. 1651. he should ride before Mr. Lane's daughter to the neighbourhood of Bristol, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, a friend and kinswoman of this young lady. The journey could not be performed in less than four or five days; and there was a necessity for passing through many market-towns, where he might run the risk of being known; nevertheless he resolved to hazard the adventure. He was equipped with clothes and boots for the service; and Mrs. Lane riding on the same horse behind him, was attended by a servant in livery; while the colonel accompanied them at a distance, with a hawk and spaniels, on pretence of taking his diversion. In this manner they set out in the month of October; and, at the house in which they lodged the first night, they were met by lord Wilmot, with whom they adjusted the stages, in such a manner that he was seldom seen in their company. On the morning of the fourth day, colonel Lane returned towards his father's house; and the king, with his conductress, arrived in safety at Mr. Norton's habitation. During this journey, it was her constant practice, when she reached their lodgings for the night, to represent the king as a neighbour's son, who at the desire of his father rode before her, that he might the sooner recover of a quartan ague, with which he had been afflicted: on this pretence she always provided a convenient bed-chamber, to which he retired, and thither she herself carried his supper. He every day met people whose persons he knew; and when he passed through Bristol, he could not help turning out of his way, from an emotion of curiosity and riding round the place where the castle formerly stood. When they arrived at the house of Mr. Norton, the first person he saw was Dr. Gorges, one of his own chaplains, sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. Mrs. Lane, after

after the compliments of salutation had passed between her and Mrs. Norton, desired that a chamber might be provided for William, who was newly recovered of an ague. This being immediately prepared, the king, who had retired to the stable, on pretence of superintending his horse, was conducted to his apartment. The butler being sent to him with a mess of broth, no sooner beheld his countenance, than he fell on his knees; and, while the tears ran down his cheeks, exclaimed, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." He had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and was well acquainted with the physiognomy of Charles, who enjoined him secrecy even from Mr. Norton and his wife. He assured him of his fidelity, and scrupulously kept his word. After supper he was visited by Dr. Gorges, who now practised medicine, and came to offer his assistance in quality of physician. The king retired to the dark side of the room, where the doctor felt his pulse, asked divers questions concerning his health, bad him be of good chear, as the fever had left him, and withdrew.

Having stayed some days in this place, he and lord Wilmot, who lodged in the neighbourhood, repaired to the house of colonel Francis Wyndham, where he was cordially received, and introduced to that gentleman's mother, a venerable matron, who had lost three sons and a grandson in the service of his majesty's father. While he remained in this agreeable retreat, one Mr. Ellison, a friend of the colonel, bespoke a bark at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, to convey two passengers into France. The ship-master appointed a place in the neighbourhood of that town, where they should come aboard. The king, lord Wilmot, and the colonel, rode to a small inn near the beach, but no vessel appeared; and, after they had waited all night in vain, they

finds a safe
retreat in the
house of Sir
Francis
Wyndham;

is in immi-
nent danger
of being dis-
covered near
Lyme in
Dorsetshire;

A. C. 1651. returned to Ellifon's house, which they had left the preceding day. This disappointment was owing to the fear of the ship-master's wife, who suspected her husband of having engaged in some dangerous design, and declared she would inform the magistrate against him, should he attempt to leave his house before morning. The king made a very providential escape from the little inn at which he had lodged: it chanced to be a solemn fast; and a fanatic weaver, who had served in the parliament's army, was preaching against Charles Stuart in a chapel that fronted the house, where he actually sat among other strangers. A farrier, employed to inspect the shoes of the horses belonging to some of the passengers, took the liberty to examine that on which the king had travelled from the house of colonel Lane, in hope of finding further employment. He told the inn-keeper, that one of those horses had come from the north country; a circumstance he pretended to know from the fashion of the shoes. Then he repaired to the chapel; and, after the sermon, communicated this particular to divers persons of his acquaintance; at length it reached the ears of the preacher, who declared the rider could be no other than Charles Stuart.

embarks at
Brighthelm-
sted, and
lands in
Normandy.

Clarendon.

He went immediately with a constable to the house; and, finding the strangers were gone, hired horses to go in pursuit of them. Charles returned to the house of Colonel Wyndham, from whence he was conducted to a place of greater security, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, prepared for his reception. He passed through a regiment of horse, and met Desborough walking down a hill, with several officers. While he stayed in the house of sergeant Hyde, at Heale near Salisbury, a vessel was provided by means of Dr. Hinchman, a prebend of that cathedral. Colonel Gunter, a gentleman of Suffex, procured the bark
at

at Brighthelmsted, to which the king and lord ^{A C 1651} Wilmot were conducted by Philips : there he embarked, and was safely landed in November at Fescamp, in Normandy, after having undergone an amazing variety of danger and distresses, and experienced the unshaken fidelity of forty different persons of all ranks, to whom the preservation of his life was intrusted *.

While Charles led this fugative life, his adventures triumphed in the success of their usurpation. In Scotland Monk reduced Stirling, where he found the records of that kingdom, which he sent to London, from whence they never returned. Then he besieged Dundee ; which, after an obstinate resistance, he took by assault, massacred the garrison and inhabitants, and abandoned the town to pillage. Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and many other places, surrendered on capitulation ; and, in a little time, he subdued all the Low Countries of Scotland. The republic of England had now acquired such reputation in foreign countries, that all the princes in Europe courted their friendship, and were afraid of giving any countenance or relief to the king, who lived in a wretched manner at Paris, by means of his mother's pension, utterly neglected by the French king and the cardinal, whose scheme was to ingratiate themselves with the parliament of England. Cromwell's interest and reputation had, by this time, risen to such a pitch, that he directed all the resolutions of the house, and was in effect chief of the republic, as well as general of the forces. He returned to London in triumph, and was met at Acton by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor and ma-

The earl of Derby is beheaded.

* This account of the king's escape, which Mr. Pepys, secretary to the chiefly taken from Clarendon, who admiralty, afterwards wrote from his had it from the king himself, is different in some particulars from that majesty's own mouth.

A. C. 1651. gistrates of London, in their formalities. General Massey was committed to the Tower, from whence he made his escape : the earl of Derby, being tried by a court-martial, was convicted of high treason, and beheaded at Boston, where he died with great magnanimity : many other persons of distinction were put to death by the same authority. The parliament sent a body of forces to the isle of Man, which they subdued ; and the countess of Derby was reduced to extreme indigence, after she had, with great gallantry, defended her lord's castle. This was the same lady who so bravely defended the house of Latham. She was of the noble house of Tremouille in France ; a woman of a masculine spirit, and had the honour of being the last British subject who submitted to the victorious commonwealth. Jersey was taken by admiral Blake and colonel Hayne for the parliament. Sir George Ayscue subdued Barbadoes, of which lord Willoughby was governor for the king ; and the isles of Nevis and St. Christophers submitted at the first summons.

Whitelock.

Scotland is
incorporat-
ed with
England.

The parliament now passed an act, abolishing the royalty of Scotland, and incorporating that country with the English commonwealth, empowering it however to send a certain number of representatives to the British parliament. Commissioners were sent thither to regulate this union, in which the whole nation voluntarily acquiesced, except a few royalists who had retired to the mountains under the earl of Glencairn and lord Balcarras, and the clergy, who protested against the incorporation, because it would produce a subordination of the church to the state, in the thing of Christ. All causes were determined by a mixture of English and Scottish judges. Justice was impartially administered ; peace and order were maintained by the prudent and upright conduct of general Monk, who

Burnet,

who commanded the forces in that kingdom. The people, secured in their property, exercised themselves in the arts of industry; and, under this usurpation, they enjoyed infinitely more plenty and satisfaction than ever was known to their ancestors.

Prince Rupert, with his fleet, being obliged to quit Kinsale, steered to Portugal, and anchored in the river Tagus. Thither he was pursued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented, by the remonstrances of his Portuguese majesty, from attacking him in sight of Lisbon. The prince at length escaped, by the favour of that prince, and directed his course to the West-Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was shipwrecked in a hurricane. There he committed depredations on the ships of Spain and those of the republic; and, at last, returned to France, where he sold his prizes, together with the remains of his navy. Mean while Blake, in revenge for the partiality manifested by the king of Portugal, made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and intimidated that monarch with menaces of further vengeance; so that he was fain to make submission to the republic, and they consented to a renewal of the alliance between England and Portugal. The conquest of Ireland was finished by Ireton the new deputy, who punished with great rigour all the prisoners who had been concerned in the massacre; and, among these, Sir Phelim Oneale suffered an ignominious death upon the gallows, which was a just judgment upon him for the unparalleled cruelties he had committed. After Limeric was reduced, Ireton died of the plague in that city: Cromwell expressed great sorrow, and the republicans were inconsolable at the death of this officer, who was a man of an inflexible, savage disposition, and an inveterate enemy to kingly government. His command devolved upon lieutenant-general Ludlow, who finished the war

Prince Rupert sails to the West-Indies.

Ireland reduced.

A. C. 1657. with uninterrupted success. Clanrickard submitted to the parliament, and the civil government of the island was vested in commissioners.

Whitelock

Motives for
a war with
the Dutch.

The republic having now reduced the British dominions to obedience, resolved to chastise the Dutch, against whom they had very slender causes of complaint. The prince of Orange had died in the course of the preceding year, leaving the princess far advanced in her pregnancy. Immediately after his death, the parliament sent over Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, as ambassadors, to propose a close defensive alliance with the States-general. St. John's real aim was to effect a strict union between the two commonwealths, and he dropped some hints on the subject; but he found the states averse to such a near connexion with an unsettled government, which was odious to all the states in Christendom. He was even affronted by the friends of the young prince of Orange born since his father's death, and exposed to the insults of the populace, who were generally well affected to the family of Stuart. Incensed at this treatment, he endeavoured, at his return, to excite a war against Holland, and even prevailed upon Cromwell to concur with his endeavours. Perhaps that politician thought it might be necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people from considering the scheme of empire which he had now projected; and employ those hands, which might become troublesome from want of exercise. Some of those who suspected his designs upon the commonwealth, imagined that a war with the Dutch might diminish his influence, as the operations would be chiefly by sea, and the expence of the navy oblige the parliament to disband the army, which was altogether at Cromwell's devotion.

The parliament, having resolved to humble the Dutch, passed the act of navigation, prohibiting all

all nations to import any merchandise into Eng-
land, but what was the produce of the country to
which the ships belonged. This stroke was directly
levelled against the traffic of the Dutch, which
consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodi-
ties from one country to another. The common-
wealth granted letters of marque to divers mer-
chants, who complained that their ships had been
unjustly confiscated in Holland; and they ripped
up the old wound, occasioned by the cruelties
which had been perpetrated upon the English sub-
jects, thirty years before, by the Hollanders at
Amboyna. The States-general, alarmed at these
measures, sent ambassadors to London to solicit a
repeal of the act of navigation: but the parliament,
far from complying with their request, demanded
satisfaction for the massacre at Amboyna, the mur-
der of Dorislaus, the correspondence, which, dur-
ing the civil war, the Dutch ambassadors had main-
tained with the late king; and they claimed about
two millions of money for the losses they had sus-
tained by the Dutch in the East-Indies, Persia,
Muscovy, Greenland, and the isle of Poleron.
The Dutch perceived, by these demands, that the
English were resolved upon war; and they began
to put themselves in a posture of defence, with all
possible expedition.

A. C. 1651.

The States-
general send
ambassadors
to London.

They soon equipped one hundred and fifty ships
of war; and Martin Van Tromp, their admiral,
was sent into the channel with two and forty, to
convoy their homeward-bound trading vessels. On
the seventeenth of May he fell in with the English
fleet, on the road of Dover, consisting of six and
twenty ships, commanded by Blake, who ordered
several cannon without shot to be fired, as a signal
for the Dutch to pay the usual compliment of
lowering their top-sails to the English flag. Tromp
paid no regard to these warnings; and Blake no
sooner

A. C. 1652. sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The battle immediately began with great fury; Blake being reinforced by captain Bourne with eight ships during the engagement, maintained the fight from four in the afternoon till night, when Tromp retired to the back of the Goodwin-sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. The English historians say, that none of Blake's ships were much damaged: whereas the Dutch pretend that six of them were actually sunk; and that, had not day-light failed, the English fleet would have been destroyed. If this was the case, Tromp ought to have kept his station, and next day renewed the engagement.

Declaration
of war be-
tween the
two re-
publics.

The populace of London were so exasperated by the news of this battle, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors; so that the parliament appointed a guard for their protection. These envoys, in an audience demanded for that purpose, affirmed that Blake was the aggressor; and Adrian Paw arriving at London, as an extraordinary ambassador, confirmed their allegation, by laying before the house Tromp's narrative of the action. He conjured them to enquire into the particulars of the affair; and if it should appear, that their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English-flag, and been the occasion of the battle, the States-general would punish him for his presumption. He intreated them, by the common ties of their religion and liberties, to listen to terms of accommodation; and appoint commissioners to renew the alliance between the two republics. They payed no regard to his remonstrances; and notwithstanding all his pretences, Tromp certainly sailed with a view to quarrel with the English fleet, which he hoped to crush by dint of his superiority in number; for it is not to be supposed, that Blake would

Clarendon.
Whitelock.

would have chosen to fight against such odds, without cause or provocation. The parliament having rejected the advances of the Dutch, and renewing their claims of satisfaction, the States-general recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, declaring they had been attacked without cause by the parliament of England. An answer was made to this declaration, denying the charge; and specifying the injuries the English had sustained from the republic of Holland: among these they mentioned Tromp's refusing to acknowledge the flag of England; and to this article the Dutch replied, that although they had been willing, in the infancy of their commonwealth, to pay that mark of deference to the monarch of England, they did not think themselves obliged to observe such ceremony towards a people who were no longer ruled by a kingly government.

They sent Van Galen with a squadron to the Mediterranean, against captain Badily, the English commodore in that sea. Tromp sailed towards the Downs, in order to engage rear-admiral Ayfue, who lay at anchor in that road with part of the English fleet; but, hearing that Blake had sailed northward with forty ships, to destroy the Dutch fishers and their convoy, on the coast of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Newcastle; but, when they were just ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and scattered the Dutch navy in such a manner, that not above forty ships returned with Tromp to Holland; tho' in a few weeks, the rest arrived at the Texel. Mean while Blake proceeded to the northward, destroyed a great number of Dutch herring buffes, and took all their convoy. On the sixteenth of August, admiral de Ruyter, with four and thirty ships of war, and a large fleet of merchant ships under

A drawn
battle off
Plymouth
between Sir
George
Ayfue and
De Ruyter,

A. C. 1652. under his convoy, fell in with Sir George Asycue near Plymouth, who, though inferior in number to the enemy, engaged and fought them with great valour until night put an end to the engagement. The English admiral retired into Plymouth; and de Ruyter conducted his fleet in safety to Holland. Van Galen had before this time attacked and defeated commodore Badily in the Mediterranean, though the victor lost his life in the action. Blake, on his return to the southward, met with another Dutch fleet on the coast of Kent, commanded by De Witte and De Ruyter. A battle ensued, in which the rear-admiral of the enemy was boarded and taken, two of their ships were sunk, one was blown up; and their fleet retired in the night, in a shattered condition. The English now equipped such a formidable fleet, that the Dutch durst not appear in the channel; so that a great number of their trading vessels fell into the hands of the enemy; among these a fleet of forty sail from Portugal, and six ships from the East-Indies, richly laden.

Blake wounded at the back of the Goodwin-sands by Van Tromp and De Ruyter.

The states, in order to prevent such losses for the future, gave notice to their merchants that the homeward-bound trade should repair to the isle of Rhé, where they would find a convoy in waiting. Trump set sail for this rendezvous, with seventy-seven ships of war, including the squadron of De Ruyter; and, on the twenty-ninth day of November, was encountered by Blake with an inferior fleet, near the Goodwin-sands, where a desperate battle was fought from eight in the morning till night. Blake was wounded, two of his ships were taken, as many burned, one was sunk; and the darkness opportunely interposed to save him from destruction. He took that opportunity of retiring into the Downs; and Tromp, elated with his victory, continued his voyage with a broom fixed to his

his maintop-mast, as a signal that he would sweep the channel clear of the enemy. A. C. 1653.

The English in order to retrieve the laurels they had lost in this engagement, equipped a fleet of eighty sail; and the parliament, at the desire of Blake, sent for Monk from Scotland, to join him in the command, Dean acting as rear-admiral. They sailed down the channel, in order to intercept Tromp and De Ruyter, on their return from the isle of Rhé, with a fleet of seventy-six sail, having above three hundred merchant ships under their convoy. The English descried them by break of day, on the eighteenth of February, steering along the coast of France; and immediately bore down to give them battle. The Dutch admirals lay by to receive them, and they soon joined in a most furious battle, during which the commanders on both sides exerted equal skill, conduct, and intrepidity; the sailors of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The engagement was renewed for three days successively; and at last, Trump, though overpowered with numbers, and superior weight of metal, made a very honourable retreat with his whole convoy, except thirty vessels which fell into the hands of the English. He lost, however, eleven ships of war; two thousand of his men were slain, and fourteen hundred taken; but the English fleet was so shattered in the battle, that they could not pretend to chase him up the channel; and the victory cost them a good number of men and officers. The States-general had incurred such an enormous expence in the maintenance of this war, and their trade had suffered so severely by the English cruisers, that all Holland was filled with complaint and consternation; and they thought proper to make new concessions to the haughty republic, which seemed bent on their destruction. The states of Holland wrote a letter to Lenthall the speaker,

These are defeated, after a desperate engagement with the English fleet commanded by Monk and Deane.

Whitelock.
Clarendon.

A. C. 1653. speaker, proposing an accommodation; and this being favourably answered, the States-general, in a formal address to the parliament, desired they would please to appoint a place where they might treat of a pacification: but before this negotiation could be set on foot, a strange revolution happened in England.

Cromwell
resolves to
make him-
self abso-
lute.

Cromwell by this time perceived that the parliament dreaded his ambition; and that, under pretence of maintaining a sea-war, they aimed at a dissolution of the land-army. He knew that they had rendered themselves odious to the nation by their arbitrary proceedings and extortion. There was no occasion for his employing much reflection with respect to his own conduct on this occasion. He consulted with his officers, who were staunch to his interest; and they presented a petition to the house, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenue, if rightly and honestly managed, would be sufficient for the regular subsistence of the army, as well as for all the other necessary expences of the government. The parliament ordered the officers to be reprimanded for this insolent address; and forbid to intermeddle in the administration. Then the petitioners produced another remonstrance, importing, that the members had not performed their promise of dissolving their assembly, that there might be a regular succession of parliaments: they therefore desired they would put an end to their administration, after having convoked another parliament; and named a council of state to administer affairs in the mean time. This proposal was seconded by all the members who enjoyed employments in the army, as well as by the presbyterians who had been admitted into the house, in consequence of having sworn to the engagement; but the majority was of a different opinion. They resolved,

solved, That it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament while the nation had a war, and a great variety of important affairs upon its hands; but that the vacant seats should be filled by new elections. At the same time, they appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an act, prohibiting all persons to present such petitions, on pain of being deemed guilty of high treason. A. C. 1653.

Cromwell was sitting in council with his officers, when Ingoldsbj entering the apartment, made him acquainted with the subject of the parliament's deliberations. He forthwith started up, with marks of violent indignation in his countenance, and hastened to the house with a detachment of three hundred soldiers, whom he posted at the door, and in the lobby. Then he entered, and addressing himself to his friend St. John, told him, he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of soul, the Lord had imposed upon him. After having sat some time to hear the debates, when the speaker was about to put the question, he suddenly rose up, and, in the most opprobrious terms, reviled them for their ambition, tyranny, extortion, and robbery of the public. After this torrent of general obloquy, he stamped upon the floor, and the soldiers entered the house; then addressing himself to the members, "Get you gone (said he) give place to honest men; you are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane rising up to remonstrate against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, "O, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" He took hold of Martin by the cloak, saying, "Thou art a whoremaster." Another he reproached as an adulterer; a third as a drunkard; and the fourth as an extortioner. "It is you (added he) that have forced me upon
" this,

He dissolves
the parliament
by force.

A.C. 1653. "this. I have fought the Lord night and day, "that he would rather slay me, than put me upon "this work." Pointing to the mace, he bade a soldier "Take away this bauble." He turned out all the members, ordered the door to be locked; and putting the key in his pocket, retired to his lodgings in Whitehall. Thus, by one daring exploit, which he achieved without bloodshed or clamour, the new republic was abolished; and the whole power of three kingdoms, civil and military, united in his own person.

Clarendon.
Whitelock.
Ludlow.

Account of
Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a small estate from his father. Far from making any proficiency in his studies at the university, he distinguished himself by his dissolute course of life, consuming his time and fortune in gaming, riot, and debauchery. At length, he was suddenly seized with a spirit of religious enthusiasm. He professed a reformation of manners; his deportment became serious and sedate; he chose for himself a sober helpmate; and seemed to vie in holiness with the wildest zealots of the puritanical party. His house was converted into a conventicle; and his fortune was soon wasted by his hospitality to the brethren. Then he commenced farmer at St. Ives; but neglected his temporal affairs, by indulging his religious reveries and illuminations. Inspired by these visions, and prompted by the necessity of his affairs, he resolved to transport himself into New-England with his friend John Hambden, that they might, in that land of Revelation, enjoy unmolested their spiritual transports; but after they had actually embarked, they were obliged to land again by an order of council. His obstinacy and resolution first appeared in opposing the earl of Bedford, who, by a patent from the crown, drained part of the fen-country near the isle of Ely. When
his

his circumstances were extremely low; he found means to be elected member of the long parliament for the town of Cambridge; and though the spirit frequently moved him to speak in the house, his elocution was so harsh, vulgar, confused, tedious, and obscure, that he was not, for two years heard with any attention, but overlooked among the heard of ignorant zealots; though John Hambden had sounded the depth of his genius; and foretold his future greatness. On the day after the famous remonstrance, had been carried by a very small majority, he told lord Falkland, that if they had not gained their point, he and many other honest gentlemen would have sold their effects, and quitted the kingdom. He was certainly at that time a zealous republican; and acted against the king from principle. In the forty-third year of his age, he raised a troop of horse, and soon signalized himself by his prowess and military conduct. This troop he augmented to a regiment; and, by means of discipline, example, prayer, and exhortation, infused his own spirit into every individual under his command. Instead of broken tapsters, decayed serving-men, and the very lowest class of the people, that composed the forces first raised by the parliament, he enlisted freeholders, and farmers sons, who fought from principle. Among these, he intermingled some of the most zealous fanatics in England, who in a little time propagated the contagion through the whole regiment; while Oliver himself preached, prayed, and punished alternately, so as to establish a surprising system of discipline and enthusiasm. He was now exalted to that sphere in which his talents shone to the greatest advantage. In courage and conduct he equalled the most renowned of his cotemporaries; but he excelled them all in fraud and dissimulation. By

A. C. 16453. these qualities he gained the ascendancy over Fairfax, while he was no more than the second officer in the army. His views were expanded by success: his first principles of republican equality shrunk before the flame of his ambition; and having tasted the sweets of unlimited command, he now aspired at the sovereign authority.

Aims of different parties.

The people expressed little or no resentment at the dissolution of the parliament. On the contrary, he received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the army, the chief corporations and counties, and from divers congregations of the saints in different parts of the kingdom. The royalists and presbyterians were pleased at the subjection of a party which had ruined the king's friends, and expelled the others from parliament. The independent faction at this time included two sects, which, though concurring in republican principles, differed widely in every other sentiment. These were the millenarians or fifth monarchy-men, and the deists. The first, which was the most numerous party, affirmed that dominion was founded on grace: that all distinction of magistracy ought to be abolished, except the authority acquired by superior piety and holiness; they expected Christ's second coming; and that, in the mean time, the saints should govern upon earth. The deists were the assertors of unbounded liberty, both in religion and government; at least they claimed more freedom than they could expect to enjoy under any regular administration. Martin, Harrington, and Sidney, were the leaders of this class, which Cromwell hated, because, being free of fanaticism, they were not within the sphere of his operation. These he reproached as heathens; but attached himself to the millenarians, upon whose enthusiasm he could work with the utmost facility.

Hume.

Though

A. C. 1653.

Cromwell
convokes
the Bare-
bone parlia-
ment.

Though he had already assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He first of all justified his conduct in dissolving the parliament, by a declaration signed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. Then he resolved, with their concurrence, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament. Nothing could be more dextrous than Cromwell's choice of these members, who were wretches of the lowest birth, and meanest intellects, so entirely devoid of knowledge and experience in affairs, that he foresaw they would soon be obliged to resign the reins they were so ill qualified to manage. He sent a written order to each in particular, requiring him to repair to Whitehall on the fourth day of July, when, after having harangued them in a tedious, confused discourse, he delivered to them an instrument on parchment, signed by himself, and the principal officers of the army, importing, That the whole, or any forty of them, should be vested with sovereign power to govern the nation: That all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be bound to obey them till the third day of November, in the following year: That, before the expiration of this term, they should elect a like number of representatives to succeed them in the sovereign authority for one year; and that, for the future, there should be an annual rotation of parliaments. Thus authorised, they voted themselves a parliament, chose Mr. Rouse for their speaker; and being chiefly composed of fifth-monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, and independents, they chose eight-gifted members to seek the Lord in prayer. They began the exercise of their function, by deliberating upon the abolition of the clergy, the tithes, the universities, the court of chancery,

E c 2

and

A. C. 1653. and the common law, in lieu of which they intended to establish the Mosaical institution. The fanatics of this age seemed particularly attached to the Old Testament, from which they borrowed the names they commonly bestowed upon their children: the appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were now rejected for those of Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Joshua, and Zerobabel. Whole sentences were sometimes used as christian names, such as "Stand fast on high, Stringer; Fight the good fight of faith, White; God reward, Smart;" the Ten Commandments were included in the pre-nomen of one person; and one of the most remarkable members of this parliament was a praying leatherfeller called "Praise God, Barebones."

Whitelock.
Clarendon.

A sea engagement on the coast of Flanders, in which the English have the advantage.

The provinces of Holland and Zealand finding themselves grievously distressed by the war, and the progress they had made towards a negotiation being frustrated by the dissolution of the parliament, the States-general now appointed four ambassadors to treat with the new legislature of England. While they were employed in drawing up instructions for these envoys, admiral Tromp, with an hundred ships, fell in with the English fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawfon. They engaged on the third day of June, near the coast of Flanders, and fought with equal courage, until night parted them. Dean was killed in the action; nevertheless the English renewed the battle next day; and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loss: for, towards the latter end of the engagement, the English were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen sail of fresh ships. The victors pursued them to the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the Dutch commerce, until the gallant Tromp had refitted his ships, and thought himself in a condition to face the enemies of his country.

Though still inferior in strength to the English, A. C. 1653. he hoisted sail, and bore down upon them as they lay off the Texel. On the twenty-ninth of July, Another more desperate, off the Texel, in which Van Tromp is slain, and the Dutch fleet defeated. the two fleets attacked each other with uncommon impetuosity; and the battle raged from morning till night without any sensible advantage to either side. Next day, Trump being joined by seven and twenty ships, engaged anew; and, during that whole day, the victory continued in suspense. Tromp being resolved to conquer or die, renewed the battle on the third day, and was shot through the heart with a musket-ball, while he stood upon the deck, with his sword drawn, encouraging his men with the most heroic ardour. The death of this great man discouraged his officers from continuing the engagement; and vice-admiral De Witzen bore away, after having lost thirty ships, that were either sunk or taken. Among the prisoners was vice-admiral Evertzen. The English Whiselock. purchased this victory with the loss of two ships, and about five hundred men, including some officers of distinction.

Cromwell ordered the fleet to be repaired with Negotiation with the Dutch. incredible dispatch, that he might take advantage of the consternation produced among the Dutch by the death of Tromp, and the ruin of their navy. But his armament was dispersed and shattered by a violent storm; and, rather than load the people with new impositions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour at such a juncture, he determined to conclude a peace with the States-general. The negotiation was accordingly begun, and continued during the whole winter. The Dutch ambassadors at first met with a very disagreeable reception from the new parliament, which considered the Hollanders as wordly-minded men, whom the saints were under the necessity of eradicating from the face of the earth, before they could begin

A. C. 1653. the work of subduing antichrist. This assembly of fanatics had now sat five months, without doing any thing of importance ; and, during that time, they became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation. The people exclaimed against such a foolish legislature ; and Cromwell was the better pleased at these expressions of discontent, as the parliament, forgetting that they had derived all their authority from him alone, began to pretend a power from the Lord, and to insist upon their divine commission. He had taken the precaution to mingle his own creatures among the other members of this assembly ; and these were ever ready to obey his secret injunctions.

The parliament surrender their power to Cromwell,

On the twelfth day of December, Rouse the speaker, and the rest of Oliver's dependents, meeting at the house earlier than they used to assemble, one of them rose up and proposed, that, as they were unable to bear the burden that was laid upon them, they should dissolve the parliament, and resign their authority to those from whom it had been received. This proposal being approved by the majority, they forthwith repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, and resigned the instrument of government ; declaring themselves unequal to the task, which they had unwarily undertaken. General Harrison, with about twenty other enthusiasts, remaining in the house, placed one Moyer in the chair, that the reign of the saints might not be interrupted, and began to draw up protests against the proceedings of their brethren. Colonel White entering the house with a detachment of soldiers, " Asked what they did there ?" And, when they answered, " We are seeking the Lord : " " Then you may go elsewhere (said he) for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these several years."

The

The council of officers, by virtue of the authority which the parliament had resigned into their hands, declared that the power of the government should be vested in the person of Oliver Cromwell, with the title of Protector; and that he should be assisted by a council of one and twenty persons. On the sixteenth day of December, they assembled the commissioners for the great-seal, with the mayor and aldermen of London; and, after having informed them of Cromwell's being chosen protector, they recited, in their hearing, a writing, intituled, The Act of Government. It imported, That the protector should convoke a parliament once in three years: That no parliament should be dissolved, till after it had sat five months: That the protector should approve all the acts of parliament within twenty days after their being presented, otherwise they should be passed without his assent: That his council should not exceed the number of one and twenty persons; and that, immediately after his death, the council should chuse a new protector: That no succeeding protector should be general of the army; but that he should have the power of peace and war: and that he should be authorized to enact laws, by the advice of his council, during the intervals of parliament. This act being rehearsed, Oliver took an oath to observe it; then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him. He was honoured with the epithets of "Your Highness," and "My Lord Protector;" and he was proclaimed in London, as well as in other parts of the three kingdoms, which were now united under his government.

A.C. 1653.
who is chosen protector.

Whitelock,
Clarendon,
Baker.

The negotiation for a treaty with Holland was at length brought to a period; and Cromwell did not fail to take advantage of the eagerness with which the enemy desired an accommodation. By

A.C. 1654.
Peace with Holland.

A. C. 1654. the treaty they consented to pay the compliment to the British flag : They abandoned the interest of Charles : They engaged to pay eighty-five thousand pounds, as indemnification for losses, and restore the isle of Polorone to the English East-India company. Among the first acts of Cromwell's sovereignty was the execution of Mr. Vowel and colonel Gerard, two cavaliers, who had hatched a conspiracy against his life : they were tried and found guilty by an high commission court, which now took the place of juries. Vowel was hanged and Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill. The same scaffold served for the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to the Portuguese ambassador. He had come upon the New-exchange with armed attendants, in quest of this very Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceding day. He mistook another man for the colonel, and assassinated him on the spot. Several persons were wounded in the scuffle, by his attendants. He retired to his brother's house, which was immediately surrounded by the populace, who demanded the murderer, and threatened to drag him out by violence. Cromwell being informed of the transaction, sent a party of soldiers for the same purpose ; and the ambassador was obliged to deliver up his brother, with all his associates. He was forthwith committed to the Tower ; and the protector lent a deaf ear to all the remonstrances and intreaties of the ambassador. Don Pantaleon suffered decapitation, and all his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn. John IV. king of Portugal complained of this outrage upon the law of nations ; but he received no satisfaction, and yet forbore to recal his ambassador.

The brother of the Portuguese ambassador beheaded for murder.

Charles II. had offered to serve on board the Dutch fleet during the war ; but the States declined the proposal. He still remained at Paris, subsisting

sitting on a miserable pension from the court of France, which was very ill paid; and now he had the mortification to see monsieur Bordeaux appointed ambassador to the protector of England. From this circumstance he concluded, that he should be obliged to quit France; and, in order to save himself the disgrace of a formal dismissal, he gave notice to Mazarine that he intended to retire from the French dominions. The cardinal was glad to find himself thus anticipated: he promised to pay up the arrears, and continue his pension; and the king received at that time another small supply which enabled him to remove himself with decency. Prince Rupert had just arrived at Nantz, and his fleet being sold to the cardinal, Charles touched the money. The prince retired to Germany, and the king fixed his residence at Cologne.

The king
retires to
Cologne.

Clarendon.

Thither he was followed by the marquis of Ormond, who had left Clanrickard as his deputy in Ireland. The Irish of Ulster refused to obey this nobleman, although he was a catholic. They chose a council, which they vested with the administration of their affairs; and sent deputies to the duke of Lorraine, with an offer to put him in possession of Ireland: but this he declined, because he looked upon their affairs as desperate. Clanrickard finding it impossible to do any thing for the king's service, obtained his majesty's permission to quit that kingdom; and left the Irish catholics exposed to all the severity of the English commanders, who retaliated the cruelties they had exercised upon the protestants. Many died by the hands of the common executioner; a great number perished by famine; above one hundred thousand were permitted to go and serve foreign princes. The families that remained were chiefly transported into the province of Connaught, where a small pittance of land was allotted for their subsistence; while their estates

Misery of
the native
Irish.

Whitelock.

were

A. C. 1654. were either divided among the soldiers and adventurers who had contributed to the expence of the war, or confiscated and sold for the benefit of the English republic. Fleetwood, who married Ireton's widow, was promoted to the government of the island; but he was afterwards succeeded in that command by Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector.

Note.

Cromwell
calls a new
parliament,

Cromwell, according to the act of government, issued out writs for a new parliament, excluding however all those who had carried arms for the king. They met on the third day of September, and the protector harangued them in the Painted-chamber. He informed them of the steps he had taken for modelling the new government; assured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament; and that he did not pretend to be their master, but their fellow-labourer. Notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to procure a favourable parliament, he soon found himself disappointed in his endeavours. They chose Lenthall their speaker, at his recommendation; but their first deliberations were employed in examining the nature of that authority by which they had been convoked. Cromwell had too many friends in the house to believe this inquiry would be brought to any determination; nevertheless, he would not tamely suffer his power to become the subject of dispute. He therefore summoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he talked to them in a stile quite different from that which he had used in his first harangue. He said, they assumed too much liberty in questioning the established government, from whence they derived all their authority; for, if they were not lawfully assembled, they had no power to deliberate. At their return to the house, they found a guard at
the

the door, which would not suffer any member to enter, until he had signed a recognition, by which he promised to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never consent to a change in the government, established under a protector and parliament. A good number who refused to subscribe this engagement were excluded from the house; and many signed it with no other view than that of having opportunities to thwart his measures. Several members engaged in a conspiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom. Cromwell having received intelligence of this scheme from his spies, anticipated the purpose of his enemies, by dissolving the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to understand, at parting, that he knew several members were engaged in a plot against the administration.

which is
quickly dis-
solved.

Baker.
Clarendon.

In two days after their dissolution, he ordered major Wildam to be arrested, and found upon him a declaration, containing the reasons that ought to induce the English people to take arms against the usurper Cromwell. Some other persons, republicans as well as royalists, were apprehended on the same account. The king had received frequent intimations from his friends in England, that the government of the protector was odious to the whole nation; and he concluded, that all the enemies of Cromwell were well-wishers to him and his family; though this was a very false conclusion. The royalists, on the supposition that they would be joined by the presbyterians for the king's restoration, and in all probability by the army, which was now discontented with Cromwell, formed the plan of two insurrections: This was communicated to Charles, who approved the scheme, ordered

A. C. 1655.

A. C. 1655. ed the necessary commissions to be expedited; and the day being fixed, repaired incognito to Zealand, that he might be at hand, in case the enterprize should be crowned with success. Wilmot, now created earl of Rochester, and Sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to London. In a consultation with the royalists, it was agreed, that the earl should conduct the undertaking in the north; and that Wagstaff should command the insurrection in the west. He accordingly set out for Sarum; and having joined Mr. Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, who had assembled about two hundred horse, entered Salisbury in time of the assize. They took possession of the gates and the market-place, seized the judges and sheriff; and proclaimed king Charles: but finding themselves disappointed in their expectation of being joined by the inhabitants, they quitted the town, and retreated to the westward. Being pursued by a troop of horse that happened to be quartered in that neighbourhood, they were seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and surrendered. Wagstaff escaped; but Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, were taken and executed. The earl of Rochester finding nothing prepared for a rising in Yorkshire, thought proper to postpone the attempt; and found means to retire to the continent. Charles about this time discovered, that all his measures had been for some time betrayed by one of his own domestics, called Manning, who maintained a correspondence with Thurloe the protector's secretary; and this traitor was shot in the castle belonging to the duke of Newburgh. All opposition was now at an end, in Scotland as well as in England. The earl of Glencairn, who commanded the Highlanders that stood out for the king, had made his peace with the government; and Middleton, who succeeded him in that command, was in the course of

Insurrection
of the roy-
alists in the
west, under
Sir Joseph
Wagstaff.

Clarendon.
Whitelock.

of the last year totally defeated by a detachment A. C. 1655
of Monk's army under Morgan.

Oliver, at length, found leisure to convert his Cromwell
attention to the affairs of the continent. The resolves to
famous war of Germany, which had raged for wage war
thirty years, in consequence of the palatine's having with the
rashly accepted the crown of Bohemia, was now Spaniards.
terminated by the peace of Westphalia. The
young palatine was restored to part of his dominions;
and the rights and privileges of the members
that compose the Germanic body were fixed and
ascertained. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden,
to whose valour the protestant interest in the empire
had been so much indebted, was succeeded on the
throne by his daughter Christina; and that princess,
tired of the fatigues of royalty, had resigned
the crown to her kinsman Charles Gustavus, who
trod in the steps of the great Adolphus; and
extended his conquests to the south side of the
Baltic. In France, cardinal Richelieu had fomented
the troubles against Charles I. of England, that
he might not interfere with the cardinal's design
of humbling the house of Austria. His successor
Mazarine pursued the same plan of politics too far;
for, instead of supporting the balance between the
king and parliament, he suffered Charles to be depressed,
and a much more formidable power to rise from his ruins.
He sacrificed the interests of Charles II. to his fear
of disobliging the commonwealth; by which he was so
little regarded, that their fleet attacked the French navy
on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was
besieged by the Spaniards. The cardinal digested the
insult; and sent an ambassador to London, to solicit
the friendship of the republic. With respect to
Charles I. the court of Spain had manifested the
same inglorious indifference, or rather countenanced
the ambassador Cardenas in a scandalous partiality.

A. C. 1655. ality for the parliament. Since the martyrdom of that unhappy prince, they had indeed received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambassadors from young Charles; but they received them coldly, and disappointed them in the purport of their embassy, which was to obtain some assistance for their necessitous prince. Ascham, sent thither by the parliament, as their envoy, was assassinated by some Irish officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain either could not or would not deliver up the perpetrators of this outrage, though one of them actually suffered by the hands of justice. Perhaps this incident might irritate the resentment of the protector. He ought, according to the dictates of sound policy, to have supported the declining fortunes of Spain against the victorious house of Bourbon; but he had concluded a treaty with Charles X. of Sweden, who was nearly connected with France; and he was unwilling to take any step which might disoblige his new ally, whose friendship he had eagerly courted. Besides, Cromwell was influenced by religious motives. He thought his alliance with France would enable him to procure some indulgence for the protestants of that kingdom. He looked upon the Spaniards as a people bigotted to the superstitions of popery, and slaves to the inquisition, which he abhorred. Those religious prejudices form a strong contrast in the character of this great usurper. He thought it necessary to gild the morning of his protectorship with some signal exploit. He thirsted after the wealth of the Spanish West-Indies; he was importuned and flattered by the subtle Mazarine: and, on these considerations, he determined to wage war with the Spanish branch of the house of Austria.

Penn and
Venables
make an
unsuccessful
attempt on
St. Domin-
go,

Immediately after his elevation to the protectorship, he sent Blake with a fleet into the Mediterranean, to chastise the corsairs of Algier, who had committed

committed depredations on the English traders. Another, having on board Venables with five thousand soldiers, set sail for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders sealed up, that he should not know their purport until he had reached a certain latitude. By these he was directed to make a descent upon the island of Hispaniola; and attack the capital St. Domingo. In April they descried the island; and at sight of their fleet the Spaniards abandoned their town; but when they saw Venables landing his soldiers at a considerable distance from the place, they recovered their spirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The English were so fatigued by a long march in a hot climate, without water to quench their thirst, that when they arrived at St. Domingo, they could hardly stand under their arms. They were immediately repulsed, and obliged to reembark with precipitation, leaving on the island a considerable number of their men killed and wounded. After this miscarriage, the fleet steered to Jamaica, which they conquered, almost without opposition. Having left some troops in this island, they returned to England; and the protector was so exasperated at their having failed in the attempt upon Hispaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be sent prisoners to the Tower. Nevertheless, he took care to reinforce the garrison at Jamaica; and that island soon became a flourishing colony.

but take the
island of
Jamaica.

Baker
Clarendon.
Thurloe.

The king of Spain was no sooner informed of these hostilities, than he issued orders for confiscating all the effects belonging to the English in his dominions; and the Spanish trade fell into the hands of the Hollanders: so that they were soon indemnified for the losses they had sustained in the war with England. On the twenty-third day of October, Oliver published the peace with France,

Oliver en-
gages in a
league with
France.

A. C. 1655. which was no other than a renewal of ancient treaties. Knowing how much he was hated by the royalists, presbyterians, independents, and even by some officers of distinction in the army; he thought he could not be too much on his guard against insurrection, and took his precautions accordingly. On pretence of keeping the cavaliers in awe, he divided England into eleven provinces; and each of these he assigned to a major-general, who governed without controul. These officers, vested with unlimited powers, became real tyrants; and oppressed the people in such a manner, that the protector was obliged to abridge their authority.

A. C. 1656.
Blake de-
troys the
Spanish gal-
leons at the
bay of Santa
Cruz.

In the mean time, Blake being joined by Montague, cruised for some time off Cadiz, in hope of intercepting the plate-fleet from the West-Indies; but they were obliged by want of water to steer for Portugal, leaving captain Stayner with seven ships on the station. This officer in a few days descried the galleons, to which he gave chase. The Spanish admiral and two of his captains ran their vessels ashore; but two ships richly laden fell into the hands of the English, and two were set on fire. In one of these the marquis of Badajoz perished with his wife and daughter. When the prizes arrived at Portsmouth, the protector gave order, that the treasure should be conveyed to London in waggons, which proceeded through the streets in triumph. Blake having received intelligence that the fleet from Peru had taken shelter among the Canaries, sailed thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very formidable posture of defence. The bay was fortified by a castle and seven forts, united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues the Spanish admiral had moored his smaller vessels close to the shore, and the larger galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Blake, far from being discouraged by this warlike disposition, took

A. C. 1656.

took the opportunity of a wind blowing into the bay; and attacked them with irresistible impetuosity. After an obstinate dispute, the enemy abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire and destroyed; and the wind shifting, so as to blow from the shore, enabled the English admiral to weather the bay, where otherwise he must have been exposed to such a severe fire from the forts, as in all probability would have made him repent of his rash enterprize. This great officer, in his return to England, died of the dropsy, to the unspeakable regret of Cromwell, who honoured his corpse with a very magnificent funeral. Blake had distinguished himself by his valour and conduct, as a general in the service of the parliament, and was turned of fifty before he commenced sea-officer. He was an inflexible republican, of honour and probity: he disapproved of Cromwell's usurpation, though he continued in the service of his country, whose battles he fought with astonishing valour and success.

and dies in
his return to
England.

Clarendon.
Thurloe
Whitelock.

Cromwell seemed desirous of conciliating the affection of the people by an upright administration. The benches were filled with judges of integrity, who did justice without respect of persons. The nature of his government obliged him to act arbitrarily in some particular instances, such as the cases of Vane and Lilburn, whose great credit with the republicans required that he should for some time confine them in prison. For his own safety he likewise found it necessary to deprive Harrison, Overton, Rich, and Okey, of their commissions, because they had great influence in the army, and declared themselves his implacable enemies, when he assumed the office of protector. Strict discipline was maintained among the troops. That a regular church might be maintained, he established commissioners, partly ecclesiastics,

The nature
of Crom-
well's admini-
stration.

NUMB. LXX.

F f

partly

A. C. 1656. partly laymen, who, under the name of Tryers, examined the morals and qualifications of those who were candidates for the ministry; and such as were admitted they presented occasionally to the livings that were formerly in the gift of the crown. Full liberty of conscience he allowed to all but papists and prelatists; and even the clergy of the English church were less restrained under his government, than they had been by the republican parliament. He bridled the royalists by his army and spies, who insinuated themselves into all their secret councils. He was likewise well acquainted with every transaction in the court of Charles; for, after the execution of Manning, he found means to corrupt Sir Richard Willis, who was in the confidence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and knew the secret designs of the king and all his adherents. He seemed to be apprehensive of assassination. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a pamphlet, intitled, "Killing no murder," on purpose to instigate some person to destroy the tyrant in this manner. Cromwell took occasion to declare that such assassinations were base and unmanly; and therefore he would not be the first to practise them upon his enemies: but should the cavaliers make any such attempt upon his life, he would find instruments to exterminate the whole royal family. The administration of Scotland was vested in a council, consisting chiefly of English members, and lord Broghill was appointed president. In order to curb the nobility, the protector abolished vassalage, and revived the office of justice of peace, which king James had introduced. He supported a long line of forts and garrisons, from one end of the kingdom to the other: he maintained an army of ten thousand men, to prevent insurrection and disturbance. He favoured the presbyterian clergy, though they took

took great freedoms with his person and government; but his emissaries carefully fomented the animosity that prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters. At this juncture, the enemies of Cromwell had well nigh obtained the completion of all their wishes, by an accident. The count of Oldenburg having presented him with six fine Friesland coach-horses, he, for his amusement, attempted to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, while his secretary Thurloe sat in the coach. The horses taking fright, galloped off with such violence of speed, that he could neither manage the reins, direct their course, nor keep his seat; but falling upon the pole, was dragged along the ground; and a pistol, which he always kept in his pocket, went off in the course of his career: yet he escaped from all these perils, almost unhurt.

Ludlow.

The protector thought he had now established his authority on such a firm basis, that it wanted nothing but the confirmation of a parliament composed of members from the three kingdoms; and this he accordingly convoked for the seventh day of September: but he managed the elections with such dexterity, that a great majority of his friends was returned; and above one hundred members were excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. By the first act that was passed, they renounced Charles Stuart; by another, they decreed the penalty of high treason against any person who should make an attempt upon the life of the protector. They liberally granted the necessary supplies for the support of the war, and approved themselves, in all their proceedings, a parliament according to Cromwell's own heart. In the month of February, he discovered a conspiracy hatched against his life, by one Syndercomb, a disbanded trooper, who had served in his own guards. This resolute soldier had several times attempted to assassinate

He calls another parliament.

A. C. 1657.
Is in danger of being assassinated, by Syndercomb.

A. C. 1657. *Clarendon.* finite the protector, and very narrowly missed his aim. He behaved at his trial with undaunted resolution, declaring that many other persons were engaged in the same design; and spoke as if he had received undoubted assurance of being screened from the stroke of justice: he was convicted of treason, and condemned to death; but, on the day appointed for his execution, he was found dead in prison. A like scheme was afterwards formed by some anabaptists, but discovered and frustrated. Major-general Harrison, vice-admiral Lawson, colonel Rich, major Danvers, and others of the anabaptist persuasion, were apprehended and confined, on suspicion of being concerned in this conspiracy.

The parliament make him a tender of the crown, which he refuses.

Mean while the parliament continued to exhibit daily proofs of their complaisance to the protector, who, on his side, seemed to have changed his nature, in order to solicit popularity. He caressed the independents, professed a particular affection for the presbyterians, and pretended to have laid aside all enmity to the nobility and royalists. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the parliament, moved that they should make a tender of the crown to the protector; and the members expressed no surprize at the proposal: but when a more formal motion to the same purpose was made by alderman Pack, the whole house was filled with commotion. Lambert, on pretence of conscientious motives, started every civil and religious objection that occurred against the kingly government, and opposed the motion at the head of a strong party; he had entertained the hope of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship. In spite of his opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority; the bill brought in, and a committee appointed to confer with his highness, to remove the scruples which might otherwise hinder

hinder him from accepting the offer. The con- A C. 1657.
 ferences on this subject lasted for several days. The
 committee urged him with arguments and impor-
 tunities, to which he replied in such a confused,
 unintelligible manner, as plainly indicates that he
 did not desire to be understood. He was certainly
 ambitious of the crown; and, in all probability,
 the motion was made with his privity and concur-
 rence: but he was staggered and perplexed by the
 violent opposition of Lambert and other officers.
 He dreaded the army, which he himself had trained
 to principles diametrically opposite to monarchy,
 and even wrought up to the most desperate enthu-
 siasm against the kingly name: he could not even
 gain over his brother-in-law Desborough, and
 Fleetwood who had married his daughter. They
 plainly told him, they would resign their commis-
 sions, should he accept of the crown; and desired
 he would no longer depend upon their service and
 attachment. A petition against the office of king,
 signed by colonel Pride and a great number of
 officers, was presented to parliament. He was
 given to understand, that several persons had
 engaged in an association to cut him off, immedi-
 ately after his elevation to the royal dignity: he
 dreaded a mutiny among the troops; and he is said
 to have been influenced by a pretended prophecy,
 importing that he should be very near the throne,
 but never wear the diadem. He had desired time
 to deliberate, and appointed the eight day of May
 for his answer. In this interval, while he fluctu-
 ated between fear and ambition, he is said to have
 undergone a vicissitude of the most anxious doubts
 and apprehensions: at length his answer implied
 an absolute refusal.

The parliament acknowledged this instance
 of moderation, in confirming his dignity of pro-
 tector, and augmenting his power by a solemn act,
 F f 3

They con-
 firm the pro-
 tectorship,
 and augment
 the powers
 of that office.

intitled,

A. C. 1657. intituled, "The humble petition and advice."

Whitelock.

Clarendon.

This empowered him to name his successor; to convoke a yearly parliament composed of two houses: it provided that no member should be excluded from parliament, except with the consent of the whole house; that an annual revenue of thirteen hundred thousand pounds should be levied for the maintainance of the army and navy, and the ordinary purposes of the civil government, exclusive of what sums the parliament should raise on extraordinary occasions. Cromwell swore to the punctual execution of all these articles; and appointed the twenty-sixth day of June for his inauguration, which was celebrated for the second time with great pomp and magnificence, on the supposition that the first was defective in point of validity: then the parliament adjourned itself to the twentieth day of January.

He sends a reinforcement of troops to the French army.

The king concludes a treaty with Spain.

In the course of this year, the protector concluded with France a league offensive and defensive, by which he obliged himself to send a reinforcement of six thousand English to the French army. He likewise stipulated that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be besieged, and, when taken, delivered to Cromwell. King Charles, when he received the first hint of this negotiation, sent a private envoy to the arch-duke Leopold, governor of the Low Countries, with proposals of engaging in a league with Spain; and that prince embraced the offer, in hope that the king of England would influence the Irish troops in France to quit that service and enlist in the army of his catholic majesty. They soon concluded the treaty, by which the king was allowed to reside privately at Brussels, with a pension of six thousand livres a month, and half as much for his brother the duke of Gloucester, who after his father's death, had been sent to Holland by order of the parliament: besides the court of Spain

Spain engaged to furnish Charles with six thousand men, as soon as he should be possessed of a good port in England. This treaty being ratified, the king quitted Cologne, and repaired to the Low Countries, at the time when Leopold resigned that government to Don John of Austria, natural son to Philip IV. Lord Muskerry, who commanded an Irish regiment in France, abandoned that service at his majesty's desire, and joined the Spanish army; and four other regiments, consisting of English, Scots, and Irish, followed his example. When the league between France and England was signed, cardinal Mazarine, gave the duke of York to understand, that he must retire to another country: at the same time he dismissed all the cavaliers who had entered into the French service, and, among the rest, the lord Digby; who, by the death of his father, was become earl of Bristol, and had by this time embraced the Roman catholic religion. Cromwell sent six thousand veterans into France under the command of Reynolds, who had acted as his plenipotentiary at Paris. In this first campaign, several places were taken from the Spaniards, and among these Mardyke, of which the English troops were put in immediate possession. Reynolds being drowned in his passage to England, was succeeded in command by Lockhart, a native of Scotland, who resided as ambassador at Paris.

Clarendon.

After the adjournment, Cromwell deprived Lambert of his commission of lieutenant-general, which was bestowed upon Fleetwood; but he indulged him with a pension of two thousand pounds, on condition of his living quietly, without disturbing the government: other officers were also dismissed from the service, because the protector could not depend upon their attachment. He now produced his eldest son Richard at court, as his heir

A. C. 1657. **Richard Cromwell** appears at his father's court. apparent. He was a man of an inoffensive, unambitious character, who had been married some years, and lived in the country on a small estate, which he possessed in right of his wife: he spent his time in acts of benevolence. Far from approving his father's conduct, he had at the time of the late king's trial, fallen on his knees, and conjured him in the most pathetic manner to spare the life of his sovereign. His brother Henry was by this time promoted to the government of Ireland. His eldest sister had been married to Mr. Claypole, and was the darling of her father; another he bestowed upon the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick; a third married lord viscount Falconbridge; and a fourth lived in celibacy.

The protector establishes another house of parliament.

Cromwell, in order to form a sort of balance to the commons, and restore in some shape the form of the antient constitution, had, in the interval of the session issued writs, summoning sixty members to compose another house equivalent to the house of peers. This step he was authorized to take by the "Humble petition and advice." These writs were directed to four or five of the antient nobility, who rejected the invitation; to some gentlemen of fortune; and a number of officers who had raised themselves from the meanest employments. He indulged them with the privileges which the peers had formerly enjoyed; and distinguished them by the name of "The other house," until he and the parliament should agree to honour them with a more dignified appellation. The commons meeting on the twentieth day of January, a motion was made for admitting those members who had been excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. It was approved so suddenly, that Cromwell had not time to find a pretence for disputing a power they enjoyed by a solemn act, which he himself had sworn to observe; so that above an hundred
of

of his most bitter enemies were admitted into parliament, forming a great majority in the opposition. They began with questioning the authority of the other chamber, which they said could not pretend to have a power equal to the house of commons, from which it derived its origin and existence.

A. C. 1657.

which is disagreeable to the commons.

The protector, incensed at their presumption, summoned them to Whitehall, and supported the authority of the other house with such vehemence of expression, that the commons fearing immediate dissolution, thought proper to acknowledge the other house as an essential part of parliament. Nevertheless, they afterwards presumed to debate upon the petition and advice; and several members affirmed, that it was null and of no effect, because enacted under compulsion, at a time when a great number of members was excluded from the house, without any legal cause. Cromwell, perceiving that these speeches tended to a repeal of the act upon which his whole authority was founded, immediately repaired to the other house, and sent for the commons. He told them, that the petition and advice was a measure of their own: that for his part, far from aspiring to the honour of being protector, he would rather have lived in a cottage, and kept a flock of sheep, than have burdened himself with such an employment; but, as it was their desire, he did not doubt that they would have supported the work of their own hands. He said there was a predominating humour among them, disposing them to find every thing too high or too low; and therefore it was impossible to content them, while they neglected virtue, honesty, piety, and justice. He said, by their connivance, endeavours had been used to form conspiracies in the army against the present establishment; that their design was to divide the nation, and advance the

A. C. 1657. the interest of the king of Scotland; that some of them had actually enlisted soldiers for that prince, who was then employed in making preparations for England. "Since that is your purpose (added he) and such are your proceedings, I think it is high time to put an end to your sitting: I therefore declare this parliament dissolved: and God be judge between you and me." Several members answered, "Amen."

The parliament dissolved.

A conspiracy in favour of the king by Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewet, quelled by the protector.

It was not without reason that Cromwell talked of conspiracies in favour of the king. A plot was actually formed by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough; Sir Henry Slingsby, a wealthy knight of Yorkshire; and doctor Hewet, a clergyman of the church of England. They had communicated to the king such a feasible account of this combination, that he had really made some preparations in the Low-Countries, and intended to send over those four regiments which afterwards joined the Spaniards. Cromwell, having received intimation that one of his majesty's commissions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapley, whose father had been one of the late king's judges, and was intimate with the protector, sent for him to Whitehall; and, by dint of private remonstrances, prevailed upon him to discover all he knew of the conspiracy. He likewise gave Oliver to understand, that the marquis of Ormond had been in England, and resided three weeks in London. That nobleman had been sent over by the king to learn the true state of the combination; and, finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent without the knowledge of Cromwell.

A. C. 1658. Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewet, together with a great number of their accomplices, were apprehended; and a high-court of justice was erected to try all these conspirators. Mordaunt was saved by means of his wife, who bribed the principal evidences to absent themselves

from the trial: but the other two were condemned A. C. 1652. and executed. Ashton, Stacy, and Bellesley, suffered on the same account, and many others received sentence of death: but the protector spared their lives, rather than run the risque of augmenting the number of his enemies, which were already numerous and formidable. The king, about this time, received a petition, signed by several independents, quakers, and anabaptists, professing their detestation of Cromwell, and offering to risque their lives and fortunes in his majesty's service, provided he would assent to some propositions joined to their address. In these they demanded, that he would restore the long parliament, confirm the concessions which his father had made in the treaty of Newport; and allow every man to worship God in his own way. Charles, who did not relish their demands, and had no great opinion of their interest, returned a general answer, importing, that he was not of a humour to prosecute any person on account of his religion; and that those who were disposed to serve him effectually might always depend upon his favour.

In the month of June, *maréchal Turenne*, who commanded the French army, undertook the siege of Dunkirk, which was but indifferently provided for defence. He had no sooner invested the place, than *Don John of Austria* marched to its relief, resolving to give battle to the besiegers. The prince of Conde, who commanded a body of his own troops as an ally of the Spaniards, advised *Don John* and the *marquis of Caracena* to alter the disposition they had made, and explained his reasons for advising that alteration: but his council being rejected, he repaired to his post, and told the duke of York, who with his brother served as a volunteer in the Spanish army, that he would presently see

The Spaniards defeated in the battle of Dunes,

A. C. 1658. see them lose a battle. Lockhart, who commanded the English troops, charged the Spanish infantry with such vigour, that they were soon broken; while their horse suffered in the same manner from the French cavalry. In a word, they were totally routed: though the prince of Condé, with his division, made a masterly retreat to Ypres and Furnes; whither likewise the Spaniards retired in great confusion. Turenne proceeded with the siege of Dunkirk, and the gallant marquis de Leyde, the governor, being mortally wounded; the place was surrendered by capitulation. The French king entered the town in triumph, and afterwards delivered it to Lockhart, whom the protector had appointed governor for the English. Many reciprocal compliments passed upon this occasion between the protector and the cardinal.

Clarendon.

and Dunkirk delivered to the English.

Cromwell seized with a certain ague.

Cromwell, notwithstanding such an uninterrupted series of success, was by this time become truly miserable. He saw himself detested by all the different parties in England; and that his whole power rested upon a standing army in which his enemies had considerable influence. Plots and conspiracies had been formed against his life and government; he knew the desperate temper of those fanatics whom he himself had so often practised upon, and was incessantly haunted by the terrors of assassination. He wore defensive armour under his cloaths, and always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket. His aspect became cloudy, and when a stranger appeared at his court, he fixed his eyes upon him with all the eagerness of suspicion. When he made excursions to Hampton court, his coach was always filled with armed domestics, closely surrounded with guards, and he travelled with hurry and precipitation. He never slept three nights successively in the same chamber: he shifted his lodging-

A. C. 1658.

lodging-room without communicating his purpose to the family; and, at the back-door of the apartment in which he lay, he ever posted centinels, in whose attachment he could confide. He was also exposed to family-disquiets that preyed upon his spirits. Fleetwood was averse to his power from principle, and had converted his wife to his opinion. His favourite daughter Claypole had lately died of a languishing disorder, during which she, in divers conferences, had awakened the horrors of his guilty conscience. All these circumstances concurring with the continual agitation of his spirits, from the multiplicity of affairs in which he was engaged, had a violent effect on his constitution. In the month of August he was seized with a tertian Whitelock. ague at Hampton-court; and the symptoms increasing, he was removed to Whitehall, where he began to reflect upon his past life, and prepare for his dissolution. When his chaplain Goodwin, Ludlow. told him the elect would never fall into reprobation, he replied, "Then I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." He was so much encouraged by the visions and pretended revelations of his fanatical preachers, that he believed he should certainly recover, even when the physicians despaired of his life. "I tell you (cried he) with emotion, I shall not die of this distemper: favourable answers have been returned by heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord." Upon a fast day, appointed on account of his distemper, the ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of the protector's recovery.

Notwithstanding these assurances his symptoms became more and more violent, and the physicians His death, and character. declared

A. C. 1658. declared the next fit would put a period to his life. Then the council sent a deputation to know his pleasure with regard to the succession. He was almost insensible, when they asked if it was his pleasure that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the protectorship; and all the answer he could make was a simple affirmative. He expired on the third day of September; the anniversary of the victories he had obtained at Dunbar, and Worcester; and his death was rendered remarkable by one of the most violent tempests which had blown in the memory of man, as if nature had intended to celebrate the fate of such an extraordinary person. Cromwell died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, leaving all Europe in astonishment at the incidents of his fortune. We have already observed that he was descended of a good family in Huntingdonshire. His father died while he was young; but his mother survived his elevation to the protectorship. She was a virtuous woman; of the name of Stuart, and said to be related to the royal family. Oliver was of a robust make and constitution, and his aspect was manly though clownish. His education extended no farther than a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue: but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were such as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war inflamed by religious contests. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and ambition. He was possessed of courage and resolution, that overlooked all danger, and saw no difficulty. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful sagacity; while he concealed his own purposes under the impenetrable shield of dissimulation. He reconciled the most atrocious crimes to the most rigid notions of religious obligation. From the

the severest exercise of devotion he relaxed into the most ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preserved the dignity and distance of his character in the midst of the coarsest familiarity*. He was cruel

* When he had a point to carry in the army, he condescended to take corporals and serjeants to his bed, where he plied them with religious exercise and discourse. Among his friends he jested and composed dog-grel rhimes. At a meeting of the republican chiefs, and the general officers, to concert the model of a free government, Cromwell, by way of joke, threw a cushion at the head of Ludlow, who returned the compliment, and chased him down stairs. In signing the king's sentence, he in a frolic besmeared the face of Henry Martin with ink, and Martin besmeared him in the same manner. He frequently invited his inferior officers to entertainments, and when the dishes were set upon the table, a number of soldiers would rush in and carry off the victuals. There was no splendour or magnificence in his court, which the nobility disdained to honour with their presence; but his economy was well regulated; all the persons he employed at home and abroad, were men of uncommon ability, and acted with surprising spirit for the honour of the nation. He interposed so effectually in favour of the protestants in the valley of Lucerne, and those of Nismes and Languedoc, who were in actual rebellion against their princes, and in imminent danger of being extirpated at the instigation of the pope, that they were pardoned and restored to all their privileges; while his holiness trembled at the menaces of the protector, who gave him to understand that his fleet

should visit Civita Vecchia, in such a manner that Rome would resound with the noise of the British cannon. Cromwell was not altogether insensible to literary merit. He granted a pension to archbishop Usher, though of the opposite party: he retained Andrew Marvel in his service; he caressed Waller, to whom he was related. He gave one hundred pounds a year to the professor of divinity at Oxford; and the celebrated John Milton was his secretary for the Latin tongue; though his immense genius was but little known even to his employers; for he is mentioned by Whitelock as an obscure blind man, very unfit for his office.

Clarendon, Whitelock, Ludlow, Bates.

This age likewise produced Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, and Cowley, who, though in different poets, acquired a good share of reputation: The republican spirit of the times gave birth to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the plan of an ideal commonwealth; and the controversies and absurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publish his Leviathan.

Among the sects produced in the reign of Charles, one of the most remarkable was that of the quakers, which was founded by George Fox, the son of a weaver at Drayton in Lancashire. This enthusiast was bound apprentice to a shoe-maker; but having a turn to spiritual contemplations, he quitted this mechanical profession, and strolled about the country in a leathern

A. C. 1658. cruel and tyrannical from policy ; just and temperate from inclination : perplexed and despicable in his discourse ; clear and consummate in his designs : ridiculous in his reveries ; respectable in his conduct : in a word, the strangest compound of villainy and virtue, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind.

Immediately after the decease of Cromwell the council assembled ; and in consequence of his last will, elected his son Richard protector of the commonwealth. This election was notified to the

leathern doublet. That he might not be interrupted in his sublime meditations, he wandered in woods, lodged in hollow trees, and read the bible without ceasing. At length he believed himself inspired, and began to disregard the scripture as a dead letter. He now assumed the character of an apostle ; and, returning to the world, exerted his talents in making proselytes. The fanaticism of the times assisted his endeavours, in which he met with extraordinary success. He and his disciples were seized with such violent transports of enthusiasm, as threw them into contortions, and universal trepidation, from whence they derived the name of quakers. Their peculiarities in manners and doctrine are so well known as to need no description. They were severely persecuted, confined in prisons and mad-houses, reviled, scourged, and set in the pillory : but they suffered with such patience and equanimity, as excited the admiration of mankind. They renounced all rites and ceremonies of religion ; and pretended to be directed by the immediate illumination of the spirit. One of this sect perished in attempting to fast forty days as Christ fasted in the wilderness,

A female quaker appeared naked in a church before Cromwell the protector, saying, she was moved by the spirit to appear as a sign to the people. A good number believing that the renovation of all things had commenced, threw away their cloaths as superfluities. James Naylor fancied himself the saviour of the world : he pretended to raise a person from the dead : he made a public entry into Bristol, mounted on a horse, while his disciples spread their garments before him, crying, " Hosanna to the highest ! " holy, holy, is the Lord God of " Sabaoth." When examined by the magistrate, he made no other answer to all questions, but this, " Thou " hast said it " They condemned him to be set on the pillory ; he was scourged, branded in the face, and a red hot iron thrust through his tongue. These inflictions he bore with patience, nay even with exultation ; but, when he was confined to Bridewell, kept to hard labour, fed upon bread and water, and debarred the company of his disciples, his illusions vanished ; and being dismissed as an ordinary man, he returned to his original occupation, Hume.

mayor

A. C. 1658.

His son
Richard de-
clared his
successor in
the protec-
torship.

mayor of London, and next day he was proclaimed in that city and in Westminster. Far from meeting with opposition, he in a little time received addresses from the different counties and corporations of England, congratulating him upon his succession, which they promised to support with life and fortune. After having been installed, and taken the oath, he, in order to secure the attachment of general Monk, who had rendered himself absolute in Scotland, sent thither that officer's brother-in-law Clarges, with assurances of friendship and regard. Monk received them with professions of acknowledgment and submission. As Richard had condescended to ask his advice, he counselled him to employ none but pious and moderate ministers in the church; to hinder the officers from caballing together; and exert his endeavours to make himself master of the army. He had no reason to doubt the affection of the troops, inasmuch as every regiment in the service had, in addresses, assured him of their inviolable attachment. Mean while he expended a considerable sum of money on the funeral of his father, who was magnificently interred in the chapel of Henry VII. among the kings and princes of England. The parties were grown so restless and headstrong before the protector's death, that he himself, with all his power and capacity, could hardly keep them in subjection. Much less could they be governed by Richard, who had nothing active in his disposition, no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no acquaintance with the army, no ambition of power, no importance of character. The general assent to his succession was no other than a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert its measures, and act effectually for its own interest.

A. C. 1658.

He con-
vokes a
parliament,

The new protector, that his power might have the proper sanction, convoked a parliament for the three kingdoms, consisting, like the last, of two houses; and in the mean time consulted with his particular friends, about means for keeping his council and army in dependence upon his authority. His confederates were men in civil employments, who, without considering the change of circumstances, advised him to support to its full extent, the authority which he inherited from his father, and the plan of government he had established. His uncle Desborough was a republican, and his brother Fleetwood an enthusiastic millenarian, consequently both averse to the government of a single person. Fleetwood was the idle of the army, which Richard disoblged by the promotion of some officers against whom they entertained a dislike. Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had laid aside, came forth from their retreats, and began to cabal against the protector. Some of his disguised enemies persuaded him that it would be his interest to assemble a good number of officers at London, to overawe the deliberations of the parliament, in case it should prove refractory. He fell into the snare, and ordered all the officers that could be spared from their regiments to repair to London. These constituted a numerous assembly, which met frequently, and assumed the name of "The great-council of the army." Being actuated by Desborough and his associates, they presented a petition to the protector, demanding that no member of the army should be subject to the civil magistrate; and that the officers should enjoy the privilege of chusing their own general. Richard, shocked at their presumption, rejected their requests, and even threatened to dismiss them from the service, should they make such extravagant proposals for the future.

Their

Their directors encouraged this petition, on purpose that the officers might suffer a repulse, which would provoke their repentment; and they were not disappointed in their expectation; A. C. 1658.

When the parliament met on the twenty-seventh day of January, they called in question the right which the Scots and Irish arrogated, in sending members to the house; and, like their predecessors, they began to examine the authority of the other house. After tedious debates, it was agreed, by a majority of votes, that the other house should subsist; and the Scottish and Irish members sit in parliament. Then they passed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector. In the mean time the council of officers presented another petition, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed general of the army. The protector answered this with uncommon acrimony, and ordered them to return to their quarters. The commons dreading their designs, voted that no council of officers should be held during the session of parliament; and that no person should be permitted to exercise an employment in the army, until after he should have taken an oath, that he would not interrupt the deliberations of the commons. But these votes were rejected by the other house, composed chiefly of officers; and the council was continued, without any regard to the orders of the protector, who had now lost all authority, and brought his administration into contempt. On the twenty-second day of April, he was beleagured in Whitehall by a body of officers; and Desborough penetrating to his apartment with an armed retinue, demanded, in the name of the army, that he would dissolve the parliament. He was obliged to comply with their desire; and, as the commons had adjourned the house for three days, he dissolved them by proclamation. A. C. 1659.

which is dissolved.

Whitelock,
Clarendon.
Baker.
Ludlow.

A. C. 1659.

Restoration
of the
Rump.

The officers resolved to settle the government, without taking the least notice of Richard, who was now considered as a private person. They elected Fleetwood for their general; restored Lambert, Ludlow, and the other officers whom Oliver had dismissed; and broke five colonels, who had advised Richard to support the parliament. These were Ingoldsbys, Goffe, Whalley, lord Falconbridge, and Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle. The council of officers always met at Wallingford-house, which belonged to Fleetwood, whom they seemed desirous of raising to the protectorship: but Lambert, who was a man of deep design and aspiring ambition, resolved to counterwork the interest of Fleetwood by private cabals, while he cajoled him to his face with the most flattering expressions of friendship and veneration. For this purpose he employed colonel Lilburne to intrigue among the independents of the army, who abhorred the protectorship. A great number of these being inferior officers, assembled at St. James's, to consult about the regulation of the government. There they began to extol the administration of the independent parliament, which had brought their king to the scaffold, and destroyed the constitution of their country. They were joined by Ludlow, countenanced by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and all the tribe of republicans, anabaptists, millenarians, and other fanatics that swarmed in the army. In a word, they became so powerful, that the council of Wallingford-house thought proper to join them in "the good old cause:" so they termed the re-establishment of that remnant which Oliver had so disgracefully dismissed. Before this union of the officers took effect, those of Wallingford-house, in a conference with Vane, Haslerig, Scot, Solway, and other members of the old parliament, had insisted upon their being secured by

A. C. 1659.

by an act of indemnity; but were obliged to rest contented with a verbal promise, by which those members engaged to use their endeavours for that purpose. All these steps being taken, Lambert, accompanied by a great number of officers, repaired to the the house of Lenthal, who had been speaker in the long parliament, and presented him with a declaration of the military council, by which he and the other members were invited to re-assemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, they met in the house, to the number of two and forty; and the presbyterian members, who had been formerly excluded, attempted to resume their seats; but they would not admit of such troublesome associates; and the army, supported them in the renunciation of those members. This assembly was so hated for their former tyranny, that the people in general could not help deriding them under the denomination of "the rump;" in allusion to their being the most inconsiderable and ignoble part of the parliament.

The first step taken by them, was to tamper with the officers under Monk in Scotland, while they sent thither Clarges to persuade him to acknowledge the new government. They knew he hated them in his heart; but such was his influence among the troops, and the whole Scottish people, by whom he was generally beloved for his impartial and mild administration, that the parliament would not venture to deprive him of his office. The change of government was so sudden and unexpected, that Monk had not time to regulate his conduct; and when he began to sound his officers, he found them already prepossessed by letters from their friends in London. He therefore acquiesced in the authority of his new masters. Immediately after the parliament reassembled, Lambert presented an address in the name of the general

Richard Cromwell
resigns his
protectorship.

A.C. 1659. cil of officers, petitioning, That they would pass an act of indemnity in favour of those who had been instrumental in the late changes of government : That all christians should be indulged with liberty of conscience, except papists, prelatists, and libertines : That all cavaliers should be for ever excluded from the magistracy or public employments of any kind : That measures should be taken to prevent the danger from the power's being too long vested in one parliament : That they would confirm lord Charles Fleetwood in the office of general in chief of all the land-forces belonging to the commonwealth : That the legislative power should reside in a representative of the people ; and the executive part of government be intrusted to a council of state, composed of able, pious, and faithful members : That they would discharge the debts of his highness Richard Cromwell ; and grant suitable pensions for him and his mother, that posterity might see the great respect they paid to the memory of their renowned general Oliver Cromwell, to which the state had owed such signal obligations. The parliament thanked the officers for their affection to the public ; though they did not at all relish some articles of their address. They detested the family of Cromwell ; but they were afraid of disobliging their constituents. A deputation from their house waited upon Richard, to know whether or not he acquiesced in the change of government ; and he signified his submission in writing. Nevertheless, they refused to pay the debt which he had contracted for his father's funeral ; but they accommodated him with two thousand pounds, and ordered him to leave Whitehall in six days.

They appointed Fleetwood commander in chief, but limited his commission to one year ; they ordained, that all commissions should be signed by
the

the speaker of the house; they voted, That Ireland should be governed by commissioners appointed in parliament; and recalled Henry Cromwell to London. He obeyed the order with a good grace, though he might have given them abundance of trouble; for he had great influence among the troops in that kingdom; and was beloved by the people for his mild and upright administration. The parliament dreading the power of the superior officers, a good number of whom they knew were averse to their government, began to new-model the army. The committee for examining commissions, cashiered many officers whom they suspected; and filled their places with others, in whom they could confide. They would have practised the same method with the troops under Monk; but he was no sooner apprised of their intention, than he wrote letters to the parliament, complaining of their design to sap his authority; and hinting, that it would not be for their interest to drive him to extremity. They did not think it prudent to quarrel with an officer of his ability, at the head of twelve thousand veterans, supported by the whole Scottish nation; and therefore they recalled the commissions they had granted. They continued the tax of five and thirty thousand pounds a month, which had been imposed by the parliament during Oliver's protectorship. They appointed commissioners for the civil government of Ireland; and bestowed the chief command of the forces in that kingdom upon Edmund Ludlow, an experienced officer and rigid republican.

A. C. 1659.
The parliament take the administration into their own hands.
Clarendon.
Baker.
Whitelock.

Having received intimation of a design in favour of the king, they ordered all cavaliers to quit London. This step was not unnecessary. Charles had impowered commissioners to treat with those, who, though they had acted against his father or himself, were now willing to return to their duty. These

In surrections in favour of the king.

A. C. 1659. agents had met with extraordinary success. The people were sick of a tyranny established by two and forty independents, the despicable remnant of those who had enslaved their country; and they were as much disgusted with an army of fanatics and hypocrites, who, on pretence of extending the kingdom of Christ, had prosecuted their own selfish purposes, and committed the most flagrant acts of insolence, cruelty, and oppression. The presbyterians were no friends to monarchy, unless curtailed of almost all its prerogatives; but they were still more averse to the independents, and eagerly sought the ruin of that detested party, even though at the expence of seeing the royal family restored. They therefore resolved to co-operate with the cavaliers. Colonel Mordaunt resolved to hazard his life once more for the service of his sovereign. He projected a plan for surprising at one time Gloucester, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Chester. The scheme was approved by the king, who repaired in secret to St. Malo, that he might be at hand, in case the enterprise should succeed. But the whole design was defeated by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who imparted it to Thurloe, by whom it was communicated to the council of state. The militia of the different counties was immediately put into the hands of officers upon whom the parliament could depend; and such other precautions taken as rendered the execution of the scheme altogether impracticable. Massay was taken in attempting to surprise Gloucester; but he escaped from his keepers: lord Willoughby and Horatio Townshend were arrested on the road to the western counties. Sir George Booth, with five hundred men, actually took possession of Chester, and published a declaration against the tyranny of the parliament, without mentioning the king's name. He was joined by Sir Thomas Middleton; but Lambert

bert marching against them with a detachment of the army, by order of the commons, they were quickly routed. Sir George Booth escaped from the field; but he was afterwards discovered in woman's attire, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

• This victory inspired the parliament with such extraordinary courage, that they ventured to confirm the alterations they had formerly made in Monk's army: and this officer was so much offended, that in a letter to the speaker he demanded his dismissal; but his brother-in-law Dr. Clarges used such arguments with Lenthall, that it was never communicated to the parliament. The conduct of Monk was so mysterious at this juncture, that one would be apt to think he had not yet determined in what manner he should act. The partisans of the king took it for granted, that he secretly favoured the royal cause; and, upon that supposition, sent his own brother, who was a clergyman and royalist, with proposals in favour of his sovereign: but he declined treating on the subject, and behaved towards his brother with impenetrable reserve and seeming indifference.

Monk's reserve and mysterious conduct.

The principal officers at London perceiving that the intention of the parliament was to enslave the army, held several conferences to concert measures for preventing the execution of this design; and their deliberations were still influenced by Lambert, though he was then quartered in the North of England. Knowing that the inferior officers of the troops about London were devoted to the parliament, he tampered with those under his command so successfully, that they were prevailed upon to sign a petition to parliament, demanding, That they would comply with the contents of the address formerly presented by the council of Wallingford-house: That they would establish general Fleetwood

Petition by the officers at Derby.

A. C. 1659. Fleetwood in his command, which, according to his present commission, would expire in a few months: That Lambert should be appointed lieutenant-general, Desborough general of the cavalry, and Monk general of the infantry: That they would take vengeance on those communities which had assisted the enemy in the late insurrections; and regulate the corporations in such a manner, as to exclude from the magistracy all but such as had expressed their affection for a commonwealth. This petition, dated at Derby, was communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation, before it should be presented to parliament; but Sir Arthur Haslerig having received intimation of their scheme, communicated his intelligence to the house. Fleetwood being interrogated upon this subject, owned the design; and three officers who brought it to town, delivered a copy of the petition to the speaker. The house having taken the substance of it into deliberation, voted, That to have other officers than those appointed by parliament would be useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

Notwithstanding this mark of disapprobation, the officers drew up another address, which was presented to Desborough. In this, though they professed adherence to the parliament, they complained of misrepresentations; and in many articles supported the petition from Derby. They also demanded, That the arrears of the army should be paid: That provision should be made for maimed soldiers, widows, and orphans: That no officer should be cashiered but by the sentence of a court-martial, except in case of reduction: and, That none should be admitted but such as were examined and found duly qualified. The house was extremely dissatisfied at the nature of this address; but being in no condition to act with a high hand, they

thanked the petitioners for this expression of their affection and fidelity; and gave them to understand, that the parliament had already begun to take measures for the satisfaction of the army. Nevertheless, having received letters from Monk, filled with professions of attachment and submission, they ventured to answer every distinct article of the petition, in a different stile. They declared, That the officers had complained without cause; and, That the parliament did not think themselves obliged to give an account of their conduct. The officers now thought they could not recede with safety; and they resolved either to subdue or dissolve the parliament. For this purpose Lambert approached London with his brigade; and the house passed an act, declaring all those guilty of high-treason who should raise money on the subject, without the consent of parliament. Having received assurances from Monk, that he would support them, and was already on his march from Scotland, they cashiered Lambert, Desborough, and some other officers who had signed the petition; revoked Fleetwood's commission, and appointed commissioners to govern the army for a limited time: but the army paid no regard to these resolutions. The council of state sent for two regiments, commanded by officers in whom they could confide, to take up their quarters in Westminster, and guard the parliament; but Lambert entering London with four regiments, took possession of all the avenues to the parliament, on the thirteenth day of October, reconducted the speaker to his own house, and excluded the members. At night, the two regiments that were well affected to the parliament, retired from their posts, which were immediately occupied by Fleetwood: next day the malcontents cashiered the officers of those two regiments,

The parliament dismissed by the army.

A.C. 1659. ments, and filled up their places with others, whom the soldiers received without hesitation.

The council of officers appoint a committee of safety.

Having thus seized the administration into their own hands, they formed a council of ten, to provide for the most pressing occasions of the commonwealth. They chose Fleetwood for their general, Lambert for their lieutenant, and Desborough for general of the cavalry. A council of seven was empowered to distribute commissions; and the severest discipline was observed. They sent colonel Cobbet to Monk, that he might endeavour to engage that officer in their party; but, should his remonstrances prove ineffectual, he had instructions to seduce his troops, and, if possible, arrest his person. Dr. Clarges did not fail to make Monk previously acquainted with Cobbet's commission. During this anarchy that prevailed in England, the king set out for Fontarabia, that he might be present at the treaty which was now brought upon the carpet, for a pacification between France and Spain; but before he reached St. John De Luz, the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded. Don Lewis De Haro prime-minister of Spain, received him with great hospitality: he even presented him with a sum of money; but cardinal Mazarine refused to see him, that he might give no umbrage to the parliament of England; and Charles returned to Brussels. On the twenty-sixth day of October, the council of officers appointed a committee of safety, in which they vested the power of the administration. The principal members were Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane, who, though a member of parliament, had lately espoused the cause of the army. At the same time, the officers published a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament; and declaring, that far from setting up a military government,

Clarendon.

ment, they had established a committee of safety, A. C. 1659. which was enjoined to deliberate and propose a form of legislature, that should be proper to maintain the liberties of the subject, and the happiness of the commonwealth, without king, single governor, or house of peers.

Monk had by this time, in all probability, re- Negotiation between Monk and the committee of safety. solved to follow the dictates of his affection to the royal family. He expected to be joined by the presbyterians, who had been severely oppressed by the independents: he was assured of the cavaliers; and did not doubt of being able to gain over part of the army in England; but he found it necessary to act with secrecy and circumspection, and proceed for some time under colour of re-establishing the parliament. He assembled his troops from the different parts of Scotland; dismissed some officers whom he knew averse to his designs; imprisoned Cobbet in the castle of Edinburgh; found means to secure the town of Berwick in his interest; and demanded of the Scots an extraordinary supply for the purposes of his expedition. During these preparations, Clarges arrived in Scotland with proposals for a treaty between him and the committee of safety. By the advice of this gentleman, he consented to a negotiation, in order to gain time; and sent three of his officers, namely, Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, as commissioners to treat with the committee, though they were expressly ordered to start such obstacles as would protract the negotiation. They found Lambert at York with a body of forces, to oppose the progress of Monk, whom he hated as a rival in military fame and preferment. He said, he was sufficiently authorised to treat with them; but, when they demanded the restoration of the parliament, he owned he had no instructions on that article; and they proceeded to London, where the committee

A. C. 1659. committee immediately assented to all their proposals. The treaty was accordingly signed on the fifteenth day of November ; both sides engaging to act vigorously in opposition to Charles Stuart.

The parliament is restored.

Monk was chagrined at the precipitation of his deputies, and delayed ratifying the treaty, on pretence that they had deviated from their instructions. From this circumstance the committee suspected his design. The members of the parliament who had composed the council of state, assembling privately, expedited a commission, appointing Monk commander in chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The governor of Portsmouth admitted into the place, Haslerig, Morley, and Walton ; and declared for the parliament. A detachment of the army sent thither by the committee to block up the town, abandoned their officers, and joined the governor. Their example was followed by another body of troops, detached on the same service : while vice-admiral Lawson publicly espoused the parliament's interest, and sailed into the river Thames to overawe the committee and their adherents. Lambert, informed of these transactions, sent a regiment to the assistance of his friends in London ; but when they arrived at St. Alban's, they revolted to the parliament : Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, began their march for London, at the head of those very troops which had abandoned their leaders. Such a concurrence of disasters intirely broke the spirit of the committee. They durst not assemble the army, for fear of seeing more dangerous instances of defection ; and they took no precautions for their own defence. Whitelocke advised Fleetwood either to put himself at the head of the army, or effect an accommodation with the king. He seemed to relish this last part of the alternative ; but he afterwards changed his opinion, and remained inactive. At length, he
and

and his colleagues consented to the restoration of the parliament; and resigned the authority they had usurped. On the twenty-sixth day of December, the members assembling, appointed a committee for governing the army in their name and under their direction: then they sent express orders to Lambert, to distribute his forces into quarters; but they had already, upon the news of the revolution at London, confined their general, who was sent prisoner to the Tower of London: Sir Harry Vane and some other members, who joined the army, were likewise confined to their own houses.

Monk having received a supply of thirty thousand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the second day of January. In a few days he received a letter from the speaker, informing him of the parliament's being restored, thanking him for his good intentions, and giving him to understand that he might save himself the trouble of coming to London, as they were already in quiet possession of their authority. Notwithstanding this intimation, he proceeded on his march, pretending that he would reduce the mutinous army to obedience under the legislative power. Lord Fairfax, who had taken possession of York, that it might not fall into the hands of the committee of safety, admitted Monk without hesitation, and they frequently conferred together; so that, in all probability, Monk acted in concert with the presbyterian party, of which Fairfax was the chief. Notwithstanding Monk's dissimulation, the members of the rump were too sagacious not to perceive that he certainly had some secret design which he industriously concealed from their knowledge: but whether it was to follow the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell, or to restore the king, they could not yet determine.

They

A. C. 1659.
Clarendon.
Baker.
Whitelock.
Ludlow.

Monk
marches into
England.

A. C. 1659. They established a council of state, composed of nine and twenty members, of which Monk was one. They ordered each to take an oath, renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, professing fidelity to the parliament and commonwealth, and engaging to oppose the re-establishment of a single governor and house of peers. Then they sent Scot and Robinson, as their deputies, under pretence of doing honour to Monk, though, in effect, they were intended as spies upon his conduct. They met him at Leicester, where he, that very day, in their presence, received an address from the city of London, exhorting him to restore the members whom the independents had expelled from parliament before the late king's trial. Scot interrupted the deputy from London, while he recited this petition, and said, it tended to the destruction of a republican parliament. Nevertheless, Monk received it graciously: and many other addresses to the same purpose were presented to him, in his march from Scotland. To these he made no other answer, than that he would communicate their contents to the parliament: he was still under an indispensable necessity of dissembling, lest the commons and army should unite for his destruction.

He enters
London.

When he reached St. Alban's, he sent a letter to the house, desiring they would order the regiments that were in London to quit that city, and make way for his troops, as he could not think it proper for those men who had been so lately in rebellion, to reside in the same place with his soldiers, who were devoted to the service of the parliament: at the same time he forwarded a plan for the disposition of his own troops in London, and assigned quarters in the neighbourhood for those which should march out at his approach. This demand increased the suspicion of the house; but they were fain to comply with his directions. On the
third

A. C. 1659.

third day of February he entered London in triumph, at the head of his army, and repaired to the council of state, where the oath of abjuration being tendered to him, he desired time to consider; observing that strong objections had been made to it in parliament. They refused to admit him as a member on any other terms, and he withdrew. On the sixth, he was introduced into the house of commons, by Scot and Robinson, a chair of velvet being placed within the bar; the speaker solemnly thanked him, in the name of the parliament, for his great services, and desired him to be seated. He declined the compliment; and, standing behind the chair, made a short harangue. He said, the peaceable restoration of the parliament was not one of the smallest blessings which God had conferred upon this poor nation. He expressed his joy that God had been pleased to make him, in some measure, an instrument to bring about that blessed event. He acknowledged his own unworthiness and their generosity. He told them, that he had received a great number of addresses, expressing the desire of a free parliament: that the excluded members should be restored without the imposition of oaths; and the time fixed for another general election. He observed, that the fewer oaths they imposed, they would the sooner bring their work to perfection. He exhorted them to be upon their guard against cavaliers and fanatics. He recommended the settlement of Ireland and Scotland to their particular care; and, with respect to this last kingdom, presented them with a list of judges and commissioners of approved talents and fidelity.

His speech
to the parliament.

The common-council of London, supposing themselves perfectly well acquainted with the real design of Monk, resolved to pay no taxes, until the excluded members should be replaced. The parliament forthwith ordered the general to march into the city, arrest eleven members of the com-

Demolishes
the city
gates.

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A.C. 1659. mon-council, carry off their chains, and demolish their gates and port-cullices. Monk, in obedience to this order, entered the city with his troops, apprehended the eleven common-council-men, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, informing them of what he had done, and begging they would moderate the severity of their order. The house whether from resentment to the city, or with a view to prove the sincerity of his professions, commanded him to execute punctually the order he had received; and he forthwith obeyed their mandate. After having deprived the city of its chains, gates, and port-cullices, he marched back to Whitehall, of his own accord, leaving the Londoners equally astonished and incensed at his proceedings. On that very day, Praisegod Barebones presented to parliament a petition, signed by a great number of persons, desiring that every individual of the kingdom should be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He met with a gracious reception, and was thanked for his affection to the commonwealth.

He reconciles himself to the common-council.

Monk began to think he had extended his dissimulation too far. He sent his brother Clarges to assure the mayor, that he would make ample reparation for what he had done, and to propose a conference with him and the common-council. The mayor, afraid of being ensnared by his deceit, rejected the proposal; nevertheless, he resolved to visit the city once more, at the head of his troops. Just as he began his march, he, with the concurrence of his officers, sent a letter to the parliament, complaining that they had employed him to the most unpopular service they could devise; that they paid too much regard to Lambert, Vane, and some other friends to the committee of safety; that they allowed Ludlow to sit in parliament, although he stood accused of high-treason by the officers in Ireland; and that they had thanked Barebones for having presented

presented a seditious petition. He then positively demanded that, by Friday next, they would issue writs for filling the vacant places, and make way for the meeting of a free parliament. The house could no longer doubt of his design; yet they voted that he should be thanked for his care and concern; and that they should begin without delay to take measures for his satisfaction. Scot and Robinson were sent to make him acquainted with this resolution; but he had already marched into the city, and prevailed with the mayor to assemble the common-council. He told these two deputies, that every thing would be well, provided they would observe the contents of his letter. When this answer was reported to the house, they voted that the command of the army should be vested in five commissioners; and they nominated Monk as one of them, though in such a manner, that his presence was not necessary to a quorum. Mean while he had effectually excused himself to the magistrates of London, by declaring his inviolable regard for the city, and communicating the letter he had sent to the parliament. Nothing was now heard but ringing of bells and shouts of joy: the populace made bonfires in every street, and roasted rumps of poultry in derision of the parliament.

When Monk was summoned to take his place in the council of state, he declined going thither, on pretence that his presence was necessary in the city, to keep the inhabitants quiet. He now again received petitions from all quarters, for the restoration of the secluded members; and, after some fruitless conferences between some of these and the sitting members, he resolved to re-establish them by force of arms. Having secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a new promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he, on the twenty-first day of February, accompanied them to Whitehall; from

He restores
the secluded
members
of parliament.

A.C. 1659. whence they were conducted, with a sufficient guard, to the parliament-house, which they entered, without having sent any previous intimation of their purpose. Their number was so superior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this last party, seeing no possibility of making head against such opposition, thought proper to withdraw, and leave the field free to their antagonists. Monk sent circular letters to the commanders of all the regiments, informing them of this revolution: he assured them, that the restored members were zealous for the interest of the army; and desired them to exert all their vigilance in defeating the designs which the malignants might hatch in favour of Charles Stuart. He concealed from them his real design, because they were generally anabaptists and republicans, not yet sufficiently prepared for the restoration of the royal family.

Writs issued
for a new
parliament.

The parliament annulled all the resolutions and ordinances which had passed against the excluded members: they released Sir George Booth, and all the royalists, who were in prison; they appointed Monk general in chief of all the forces in the three kingdoms; they repealed the oath of abjuration, and that of fidelity to the established government without king and house of peers; so that the lords were restored to their right of sitting in parliament. They made great alterations in the militia all over the kingdom: constituted a council of state, composed of one and twenty members, the majority of whom were royalists; and dissolved their own assembly on the seventeenth day of March, after having issued writs for a free parliament, to meet on the twenty-fifth day of April. But, before their separation, they voted that no person should be employed in a military capacity, until after he should have acknowledged upon oath the justice of the war, which the parliament had waged against the late king; and that none of those who had
carried

Clarendon.
Baker.
Whitelock.

carried arms for Charles should be returned as members of the ensuing parliament. A. C. 1659.

The republicans seeing through this disguise, endeavoured to persuade Monk to assume the sovereign power, in imitation of Cromwell, chusing to submit to a single chief, rather than expose themselves to the vengeance of injured majesty; but he rejected all their remonstrances on this subject. Then they instigated a good number of officers, who professed their own principles, to draw up a declaration, in which they engaged to maintain the republican government. This was presented to the general, with a desire that it might be subscribed by the whole army. But the first excused himself, alledging that it was unnecessary; and when they repeated their importunities, he, in an absolute tone, forbade them to assemble for the future, without his permission. Cardinal Mazarine having received intimation that Monk had formed some great design, ordered Bordeaux, the French ambassador, to make a tender of his services to the general, who civilly declined his offers. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, Sir John Greenville, sent over by the king, had a private audience of Monk, who dismissed him to his master, with assurances of zeal and fidelity to his majesty's service, as well as with some salutary advice, which Charles followed with great punctuality. Mean while the general new modelled his army. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions, his endeavours had well nigh been defeated by an accident: Lambert escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces. Lambert escapes from the Tower.

A. C. 1659. forces. He was a very active officer, and had acquired great influence in the army. Monk knew that a great number of the soldiers were republicans, and would take the first opportunity of opposing his measures in favour of the king. He therefore dispatched colonel Ingoldsbey, with his own regiment, against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry, with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsbey, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity, that ill agreed with his reputation. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, and Crede, were likewise taken without

but is re-
taken by In-
goldsbey.

A. C. 1660.

opposition. The republicans made another effort before the meeting of the parliament: they circulated copies of a feigned letter, dated at Brussels, importing that the king desired his restoration for nothing so much as an opportunity of being revenged upon his enemies. In opposition to this stratagem, which began to produce some effect, the nobility and other royalists, to the number of seventy, signed a declaration disavowing such principles, and protesting their desire of living peaceably, without seeking revenge against the authors of their misfortunes.

The king's
letters to the
new parlia-
ment.

On the twenty-fifth day of April, the new parliament met in two houses, according to the ancient constitution; and in both the interest of the royalists predominated, notwithstanding the votes of limitation, to which the electors paid no regard. On the second day of their sitting, Sir John Greenvill returned from Brussels, with the king's commission, constituting Monk general of all the forces; and a letter from his majesty, to be communicated to the council of state and the officers of the army: but the general excused himself from opening this letter, without the permission of parliament. The house of commons being adjourned for a few days, Sir John Greenvill presented to the lords a letter from

from the king, expressing his hope that, as they were now restored to their privileges, they would use their endeavours to appease the troubles of the kingdom, re-establish his majesty in the possession of his just prerogatives, restore to the parliament its privileges, and to the people their liberties. Together with this letter, Greenville delivered a declaration, in which the king promised to govern according to the laws of the realm, and maintain the rights of his subjects: To pass an act of indemnity, in favour of all those who had acted against him or his father, except such as the parliament should deem unworthy of pardon: To indulge tender and scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion: To leave to the examination of parliament the claims of those officers, soldiers, and others, who possessed lands to which their titles might be contested: To confirm all these articles by act of parliament: To satisfy the army under general Monk, with respect to their arrears; and receive the officers and soldiers into his service, in the same rank and with the same appointments, which they then enjoyed.

This declaration was no sooner read, than the lords voted that, according to the antient constitution of England, the government ought to be vested in a king, lords, and commons. The same declaration, with another letter, being delivered to the lower house after their adjournment, they concurred with the vote of the lords; and resolved to present the king with fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York with ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester with half that sum. Then the two houses erased from their records all the acts which had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, and the city of London, prepared addresses, congratulating his majesty on his restoration, and vowing inviolable fidelity; and these were delivered to Charles by the hands of Clarges. On the eighth day of May, the king was proclaimed
in

Restoration of
Charles II.

A. C. 1660. in London; and the deputies of the parliament and city set out on the eleventh for the Hague, where Charles waited their arrival. Some presbyterian ministers repaired to the same place, to testify the zeal of that sect for his restoration, and sound his real sentiments with respect to religion. He confirmed to them, by word of mouth, the promise of liberty of conscience, inserted in his declaration; but when they exhorted him to abolish the use of the common-prayer and the surplice in his own chapel, he frankly told them, that as he did not intend to restrict any person in point of religion, so neither would he be restricted. He gave audience to the deputies of the parliament on the sixteenth day of May; and, at the same time, admiral Montague payed his respects to his majesty, accompanied by the principal officers of the fleet, who waited his orders at Scheveling: he afterwards received the compliments of congratulation from the states-general, and embarked on the twenty-third day of the month. On the twenty-sixth he arrived at Dover, where he was met by general Monk, whom he embraced with the warmest affection, honouring him with the appellation of father. He proceeded directly to Canterbury, where he bestowed the order of the garter upon his restorer; and on the twenty-ninth, which was his birth-day, reached Whitehall, through an innumerable multitude of people, who rent the air with shouts and acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, which threatened national anarchy and destruction, that they could not, without extravagant emotions of joy, behold their constitution restored without bloodshed; while the king remounted the throne of his ancestors, and law, order, and subordination, began to flow quietly in their antient channels.

Clarendon.
Whitelock.
Baker.

The END of the Seventh VOLUME.



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